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Appendices with the statement of Mian Mumtaz Muhammad Khan Daultana, Ex-Chief Minister, Punjab.

Appendix No.	Date	Reference	Subject
1.	1-4-1952	Pb. Muslim League Directive.	Directive issued by Mian Mumtaz Muhammad Khan Daultana, President of the Pb. Muslim League, to the Councillors of the Muslim League in the province not to preside over meetings organized by other political parties or to participate in their activities likely to create hostility or illfeelings between the citizens of Pakistan.
2.	3-4-52.	Assessment of the political situation by Mian Mumtaz Muhammad Khan Daultana.	Assessment of political situation and suggestions by Mian Mumtaz Muhammad Khan Daultana, President, Provincial Muslim League to Kh. Nazimuddin, President of the All Pakistan Muslim League on 3-4-1952.
3.	4-4-1952	Summary of assessment and suggestion on political situation by Mian Mumtaz Muhammad Khan Daultana.	Summary of assessment and suggestion on political situation by Mian Mumtaz Muhammad Khan Daultana, placed with the approval of H.E. the Governor-General on the agenda of Conference of the Governors, Chief Ministers and the Central Cabinet in their meeting of the April 1952.
4.	19-4-1952	'Dawn'	Report of the meeting of Ahmadiya Association Karachi, in Jhangir Park. Sir Zafrullah's speech. Imposition of Section 144 Cr.P.C. Arosen in City 30 injured - 400 detained by Police for interrogation.
5.	13-6-1952	'Dawn'	Chief Minister Punjab passed orders on 11-6-1952 banning sectarian meetings in Punjab, Deputy Commissioner empowered to take deterrent action under common and emergency laws.
6.	2-7-1952	Dawn & Civil & Military Gazette.	Press statement by Home Secy: Govt. Punjab in which he told newspaper editors that the administration was determined to stamp out all pseudo religious menace to unity of the nation and well-being of society. He further refuted the allegation that section 144 Cr.P.C. was imposed on Juma congregations.
7.	2-7-1952	Dawn page 5.	Editorial Note: "Punjab arrests". Centre should now lay down national policy.
8.	3-7-1952	Dawn.	Cartoon with reference to the above editorial note of 2-7-1952.
9.	5-7-1952	Official Conference.	Confidential proceedings of officials' conference presided over by the Chief Secretary.

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Appendix No.	Date	Reference	Subject
10.	13-7-1952	Dawn.	Ulama ban Maulvi Ghulam Murshad of Shahi Mosque for his anti-Ahrar views.
11.	14-7-1952	Dawn.	D.C. Lahore confers with Ulemas. Sought their help to raise peoples morale, and explained implications of section 144 Cr.P. Code. It meant no restrictions on mosques and religious gatherings.
12.	15-7-1952	Zamindar.	Proceedings of the All Parties Convention held on 13-7-1952 in Lahore and appointment of Majlis-i-Amal.
13.	16-7-1952	Afaq.	جیوں امتداد کی ایس پی سیم گئی سیاسی و فذہبی خلفشار میں نہ ہیں اور 26 جولائی کو پٹیوٹی مجلس نے اس مسئلہ پر کچھ نہیں کیا۔
14.	21-7-1952	Afaq.	بیان مجلس احرار: ان قائم رکھنے اور پاکستان میں جان کی حفاظت میں حکومت کا تعاون کر سکیں۔
15.	22-7-1952	Dawn Last page.	Report of Daultana's speech at a meeting of the Muslim League held on 21-7-52. Ahrars have given assurance. Demand of Ahmadi as minority constitutional issue. Incitement of sectarian hatred will prove disastrous.
16.	22-7-1952	Afaq.	Leading article. "پستان کا امتداد سائنم"
17.	22-7-1952	Dawn page 1.	Daultana's statement, Ahrar assurance welcomed. Restrictions to be withdrawn or suitably modified.
18.	22-7-1952	Civil & Military Gazette.	Exclusive interview of Ahmadi Chief with Mian Muhammad Sufi.
19.	25-7-1952	Working Committee Meeting of Muslim League.	Agenda for the meeting of the Muslim League Provincial Council to be held on 26/27th July 1952.
20.	26-7-1952	Civil & Military Gazette Leading article.	Proceedings and comments on the Council's speech of Mian Muntaaz Muhammad Khan Daultana.
21.	27-7-1952	Dawn	Resolution of the Punjab Muslim League Council on Khatm-i-Nabuwwat movement.
22.	26-7-52 27-7-52	Daultana's report.	Report on the Punjab Provincial Muslim League presented to the Session of Council of the Pb. Muslim League held in Lahore on July 25 & 27.

Appendix No.	Date.	Reference	Subject.
1.	<u>20-7-52</u> <u>27-7-52</u>	Daultana's report.	1952 by Mian Mumtaz Muhammad Khan Daultana, Ex-Chief Minister.
2.	28-7-52	Civil & Military Gazette.	Report of the proceedings of the meeting of the Provincial Muslim League Council held on 26th and 27th of July 1952. Daultana's firm stand - minority demand fail.
24.	28-7-52	Dawn.	Lahore mob grieved at Khata-i-Mubuwat resolution. Attached leagueurs and were tear-gased. Councillers injured. Cars damaged.
25.	29-7-52.	Civil & Military Gazette.	Ahmediya Chief on Daultana's stand in the Provincial Muslim League Council.
26.	30-7-52	Dawn.	134 arrested upto 29th for McLeod chowk rowdyism.
27.	4-8-52	Zemindar.	Statement by M. Akhtar Ali Khan after interview of the Committee of Ulama under his leadership with Honourable Prime Minister, that on 14-8-52, Central Government will declare its policy towards Ahmediya.
28.	6-8-52	Civil & Military Gazette.	A.P.P. Karachi. Daultana said breach of law will not be tolerated, Ahrrar gave assurance to respect law and have respected it so far.
29.	17-8-52	Civil & Military Gazette.	Declaration of Policy against Ahrrar-Ahmedi controversy. Pakistan Government warns Federal and Provincial Ministers against sectarianism.
30.	22-8-52	Resolution of Provincial Muslim League Working Committee.	مسلم لیگ قادیان کے عہدہ دار مجلس علیہ کے جلسوں میں صدارت نہ کرے
31.	2-9-52	Afaq <i>حضرتی باغ</i>	Report of Daultana's speech on 31-8-52 at Hazoori Bagh Lahore.
32.	13-9-52	Civil & Military Gazette. <i>دارالیندی</i>	Chief Minister's speech at Rawalpindi against sectionalism and on anti-Ahmedi movement.
33.	12-10-52.	Dawn.	Working committee meeting 5 hours on 11-10-52 morning.
34.	27-10-52.	Afaq <i>لحاکم آباد ڈیڑھ گھنٹہ</i>	Speech of Mian Mumtaz Muhammad Khan Daultana,

Appendix	Date.	Reference.	Subject
34.	27-10-52	Afaq	at Hizamabad District Gujranwala in which he advised the public to remain away from disruptionists who preached sectionalism.
35.	11-11-52	Notice	Notice of Mr. M.H. Gazdar to the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan for moving that the person professing Qadiani faith should be declared non-Muslim minority and they should not be assigned any key position.
36.	27-12-52	Dawn	Speech of Daultana delivered on 25th December 1952 in Gol Bagh. قول باغ
37.	16-1-53	Dawn.	Report of Khwaja Nazim-ud-Din address to Provincial Muslim League Council on B.P.C. Report and Punjab view was expressed in their resolution.
38.	3-2-1953.	Zamindar	Report about the public meeting arranged by Majlis-i-Amal on 1-2-53 in which a challenge of direct action was given to the effect that if demands were not accepted upto 22-2-53 the responsibility of the consequences will be that of the Central Government.
39.	1-3-1953	Civil & Military Gazette.	Hom. Secretary to the Punjab Government, endorses Central Government's press communiqué regarding Ahrar-Ahmadi agitation.
40.	5-3-1953	Dawn	Lahore D.S.P. shot dead on 4-3-53 Lahore and other districts' situation reported.
41.	5-3-53	Dawn	Appeal by Punjab Government issued to preserve peace and be not duped or misled by persons who are exploiting sentiments for ulterior motives.
42.	6-3-53	Dawn.	Press Note. Reports of more riots on 5-3-53. Two posts offices burnt. A school was killed. Constables injured looting etc.
43.	6-3-53.	Press Note No. 257.	Statement of Daultana of 6-3-1953.
44.	7-3-53	Tasneem.	ان کو نامہ دودی = حاجہ عالم الدین کی دودھ پالیں دی گئیں - جواب نہا ارد

Serial No.	Date	Reference	Subject
3.	10-3-53	League's record.	Statement of Daultana (M.L.9)
	11-3-53	League record.	Resolution of the working Committee Provincial Muslim League supporting appeal of 10th March 1953 issued by Mian Daultana.
	15-3-53	Muslim League Assembly Party.	Speech of Mian Mumtaz Muhammad Khan Daultana on the issue of Khatm-i-Nabuwat in which he detailed his efforts for obtaining directions from the centre. He also gave in detail his personal views on the subject.
48.	16-3-53.	Dawn	Daultana's broadcast of 15-3-53.
49.	20-3-53	Proceedings of the Punjab Legislative Assembly.	Speech of Mian Mumtaz Muhammad Khan Daultana on Anti-Ahmadi disturbances Relevant pages are from 12 to 22.
50.	19-3-53.	Constituent Assembly Proceedings.	Statement of Kh. Nazimuddin in the constituent assembly on anti-Ahmadiya controversy in which he stated that (1) Action was taken with full support of the Provincial Govt. and (2) firm action taken only after threat of direct action after urgent meeting was called at 1-0 clock in the night. Relevant pages are 373 to 376.
51.	20-3-53	Muslim League Assembly Party record.	Speech in the Muslim League Assembly Party meeting in which he (Mian Mumtaz Muhammad Khan Daultana explains his position vis-a-vis the Central Leadership.
52.	20-3-53	Secret record.	Home Secretary's note that relevant papers showing how meetings between the Ahmadi leaders and the Hon'ble Chief Minister was arranged which led to the assurance by them for maintaining law and order in future and protecting the life and property of the Ahmadis.
53.	24-3-53	Muslim League Assembly Party record.	Speech of Mian Mumtaz Muhammad Khan Daultana in the Assembly party at the time when he resigned from the Leadership of the party and proposed the name of Malik Feroz Khan Noon as the incoming Leader.

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<u>No.</u>	<u>Date</u>	<u>Reference</u>	<u>Subject</u>
51	25-3-53	Dawn:	Punjab Chief Minister resigns on 24-3-53 Proceedings of the Assembly Party report.
52	27-2-53	Chatna's report:	Summary of the proceedings of the conference between the Ministers of the Central Govt. & Provincial representatives held on 26th February and the night between 26th and 27th Feb 1953 prepared, verified and signed by Ch. Muhammad Husain, ex-Revenue Minister, Punjab Government.

Ranzen

21-7-54

M.L.15

8, Durand Road,
Lahore.

President,
Punjab Muslim League.

It has come to my notice that at some places in the Province prominent members of the Muslim League organisation including, in some cases, even the Presidents of the District Muslim League have presided over Ahrar Conference. It must be made clear that to preside over the Conference of another organisation is a breach of discipline of the Muslim League. I am therefore to direct that no member of the Muslim League organisation shall in future preside over meetings which are sponsored or conducted by organisations other than the Muslim League. This of course does not include participation in functions which are of a purely social or non-political nature; but the definition of 'political' may be interpreted very strictly and not loosely. It is absolutely necessary that members of the Muslim League do not take part in any activity which is likely to create hostility or ill feeling between the citizens of Pakistan or to revile and condemn particular sections or groups of the citizens of Pakistan.

Sd: Mumtaz Daultana
President.

Dated 1-4-1952.

The above circular letter may be issued by the Provincial Muslim League Office to all District and City Muslim Leagues. It may also be sent to the press.

Sd: Mumtaz Daultana.
President.

To

The General Secretary,
Provincial Muslim League Office,
Lahore.

Assessment and Suggestion by Mian Mumtaz Muhammad Daultana
President, Provincial Muslim League, Punjab to Kh. Nizam-
ud-Din President of Pakistan Karachi.

PRESENTED IN APRIL 1952.

Assessment of the present position.

The situation must be frankly faced that there is widespread lack of faith and confidence in the country. The prevailing mood is one of cynicism and drift. There are no clear objectives before the people, nor the determination and exhalation of effort which is associated with the construction of a new country. No immediate crisis or dramatic failing of Government is pointed out but there seems to be no confidence that the people in power will be able to face a crisis or surmount a serious sudden difficulty.

Some of the causes of the present mood can be analysed as follows:

International:

The political campaign which resulted in Pakistan gave the people a sense of exaggerated importance of the strength and international effectiveness of Pakistan. National vanity has been disastrously outraged by the continual failure over Kashmir. Last year's crisis with India revived self-confidence but the racking of tension without any improvement or clear gain has led to further depression of spirits. The humiliations are blamed not on the inherent difficulty of the situation but on the inaptitude, weakness and drift of the Government.

Anglo-American bloc's partiality to India is not reconcilable with Pakistan's apparent dependence and servility to the line of that bloc. As international issues can seldom be frankly placed before the people, who are quite capable of showing realism if taken into full confidence.

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and as the humiliations of Pakistan are being continually underlined by the Moscow-inspired powerful press of Mian Iftikhar-ud-Din, this has done a great deal to affect people's general respect and love for the Government. There is no doubt that severance of connection with the Commonwealth is capable of becoming a popular issue of great strength, unless it is anticipated with proper preparation and active political work in advance.

National Administration:

Intensive political work in the past which yielded immediate spectacular results has stimulated political consciousness and the realisation of the power of agitation. A sad but not unexpected consequence is that the consciousness of duties has not kept pace with the consciousness of rights. While moral and political standards have not risen, but actually deteriorated, the shape and tone of administration demanded is on the pattern of the most ancient and well-ordered democracies.

Widespread corruption, nepotism, favouritism and inefficiency is sensitively noted and blamed on the few that are in charge. Further demoralisation is occasioned by the spectacle of factionalism amongst the civil servants in almost every department. This discourages as well as saps discipline amongst the smaller functionaries who are powerful and ubiquitous vehicles of propaganda and disaffection.

Provincialism.

The central leadership, particularly in its political aspect, is generally considered to be weak, inconsequential and somewhat self-satisfied. The impression is that they are administrative chiefs rather than political leaders. The result is lack of a co-ordinated planning, also of stern,

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effective discipline if some fall out of line. This has led to the feeling that the only way to get one's point is to bully, make a noise, exaggerate one's deprivation. This has encouraged thinking on provincial lines - each province for itself, against all others, against the centre.

Ideological confusion:

Pakistan has been achieved but there is no clear indication as to its future shape.

The general cry amongst those who profess to think is for democracy. But the central leadership has never given a clear lead as to what degree of democracy, i.e., free speech, free unregulated political action, is consistent with our present stage of political development, and international situation. This confusion is further aggravated by different lines of approach being haphazardly pursued by different provincial Governments. The general public is capable of responding to a clear lead, is fairly realistic, conscious of the difficulties of the situation, deeply hostile to national enemies, but the lack of intensive, and frank political work leaves them in the hand of agitators.

Delay in the framing of the Constitution has now become a national joke. It is, I believe, sometimes wrongly assessed that the people as a whole are fastidious of the exact shape and form of constitution that is to be framed. I think they should be satisfied with any constitution so long as the showmanship is good and underlines its susceptibility to an Islamic interpretation, but they want a constitution quickly. Their impression is that the delay in the framing of the constitution is not due to intrinsic difficulties, which are difficult to explain and have never in fact been explained, but because people in power wish to continue in power and are fearful of an appeal to the people. In our country the mere impression that a Government is reluctant to face the people

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loses its prestige, unless there is a frank repudiation of democracy in favour of a bold stern disciplinarian regime with a benevolent programme which yields immediate spectacular results, which also is capable of rallying the people. But the choice must be clearly made and firmly pursued.

ECONOMIC:

Political consciousness has resulted in sensitiveness to economic want. This is emphasised by widespread advocacy of Islamic Socialism by all those in power. Yet no change of system has been attempted and people are shrewd enough to notice that;

There is no widespread deterioration in economic conditions in rural areas. But old standards are less complacently accepted. A probable future slump in agricultural prices may suddenly provoke revolutionary conditions.

In urban areas there is real distress and mounting unemployment. Communists are making good use of it. There is no effective non-Communist organisation of labour, to counter a consistent well-planned disruptive propaganda, which being based on appeal to immediate personal interests gets across with its subtle political implications.

Hostility of 'Intellectuals':

It is worth taking note that all professional 'intellectuals' - writers, poets, journalists, etc., consider it a convention of their profession to oppose the Government, to mock and abuse it, to spread despair and disaffection, this was so also in the past and is a part of the old anti-imperialist tradition which has survived unabated, further unchecked, into the present days of freedom. The real cause is the frustration of the 'intellectuals' due to lack of economic stability, high

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ambitions and imaginative prospects continually defeated, no provision of secure pursuits in their own spheres, no imaginative appeals being provided as in other countries in tasks of national construction.

Break up of the Political Party.

It must be frankly realised that the Muslim League as a dynamic political force calling forth loyalty and devotion of its workers has ceased to exist. Its present position is that all those who are provided for by the Governments, all those whose personal interests are best secured in supporting the Government or who for personal reasons wish to avoid conflict with the power in the land, are Muslim Leaguers, but only up to the time that the above considerations apply to their personal circumstances. Coming in and going out of the Muslim League is a continual two-way traffic with no apprehensions, no scruples, no loss of face in the process.

What are the reasons for that:

1. After the achievement of Pakistan, the Muslim League had no ideology, no political content, no day-to-day tasks to perform. It is impossible to distinguish between leaguers and non-leaguers on the basis of political programmes. The mere distinction that the Muslim Leaguer always sides with the Government, is in our political traditions a humiliation which political workers in their private lives and conversations always attempt to water down.
2. Lack of ideology and political objectives makes maintenance of discipline impossible, because there is no test by which to judge loyalty, efficiency and effectiveness of a worker. If a person is expelled only when he has actually rebelled, the initiative is with the rebel and he has already done all the harm he could do. At the same time persons are often taken against for reasons which cannot be explained

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politically, and this gives a court - like atmosphere to the Muslim League which further degrades its public position.

3. During the days of the Quaid-i-Azam and even later the organisational machinery of the Central Muslim League used to function. There was an impression that the highest rung of the hierarchy of the League is stern and impartial. At the moment there is no machinery which looks after disputes, differences, controversies in the organisation. This gives the impression that each Provincial League is an independent principality and naturally all cohesion and sense of unity in the organisation is lost.

4. Our past political traditions of the anti-imperialist struggle have impressed on the popular imagination a distinction between Government and political party. To oppose the Govt. is considered heroic, altruistic, patriotic. This would naturally make the task of defending the Government a task requiring real clear thinking, political training and political courage. It could easily be achieved if it was made crystal clear that the Muslim League is a political party with a clear policy, that it will remain in power only if it is satisfied that it can succeed in carrying out its programme. But our workers are not encouraged to pursue this line of thought or to set up this standard of judgment, for the following reasons:

(a) They are not taken into confidence in the framing of broad policy. The Muslim League organisation, rarely in the provinces, never in the centre, meets and deliberates as a policy making organ. Not a single such meeting of the Central Muslim League Council has been held since partition. My own experience is that if Muslim League organisations are encouraged to meet and discuss, to object and criticise to their heart's content, they succeed in the end in taking a realistic and patriotic view of each issue, and once such a decision is taken, each worker takes responsibility for the decision as it was his own personal decision and becomes its champion before the public.

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(b) No real respect and prominence is given to devoted Muslim League workers. I realise that this is a difficult problem requiring great circumspection and tact. There can be no question of giving Muslim League workers an unfair advantage or making them irresponsible favourites of the administration. But unless merit is rewarded, and loyalty gives its dividends, it is difficult to win or retain it.

Isolation of Central Leadership:

There must be an ultimate political leadership in the country. You can have a federation of provinces but you cannot have a federation of leaderships. But in Pakistan the Central leadership is isolated and out of touch with the masses. The reasons for this are:-

(a) The central leadership has not been elected since partition, and there is an impression that the constitution is being delayed to avoid an appeal to the people. It is my conviction that if an early appeal to the people was made the present leadership would be returned to power with an overwhelming majority as happened in Punjab and N.W.F.P. but the idea that a leadership has not the confidence to revive its popular mandate, undermines popular confidence in it.

(b) The central leadership has ceased to be politically active. Qaid-i-Azam was first and foremost a political leader. Qaid-i-Millat retained his close contact with the people. Most of the present Central Cabinet Ministers have become administrative chiefs with diminishing political contacts.

(c) Reluctance to place political issues before the people by the central leadership, and decisions being taken behind closed doors and in a departmental bureaucratic fashion give rise to the suspicion that intrigues are going on. The press

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even on provincial leadership is to close deals on a personal basis, contact a particular Central Minister or a particular Provincial Chief Minister, has politics on personal contacts which is the end of real Government or dynamic politics founded on policies or ideas.

ASSESSMENT OF THE OPPOSITION.

The general discontent in the country is not the achievement of an organised opposition, nor has public opinion, in any measure, rallied round an alternative party to replace the Muslim League. This is a large source of negative strength to the Government, but hardly calls for pride or complacency.

1. The opposition of the Maulvis, based on the delay in formation of an Islamic Constitution and the promulgation of full Shariat Law, both civil and criminal, has some effect in arousing discontent. But they have no capacity to mount a proper opposition which is an alternative possible Government. They may be afforded courtesy and deference in the countryside, but they have not the slightest political influence in the rural areas. This has been proved again and again by the elections.

Through the organised Jamaat-i-Islami, they exercise influence over small government functionaries, where their strength is the largest, and in urban packets. But they are no real menace. Being fascist in tendencies, their only danger lies in forming small terrorist groups of fanatics.

The importance attached by the people in power to the Maulvis is an indication of our inferiority complex. While the people have always repudiated them with humorous contempt, we are easily over-awed by them. This is a disservice to Islam. Islam is the real guarantee of Pakistanis' internal solidarity, and is the inspiration which will give us strength and faith in our trials. If we acquiesce in and encourage an interpretation

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of Islam which is a travesty of it, which is opposed to progress advancement and the march of the times, we might deny some immediate doceptive strength, but we will actually be instrumental in creating an ultimate revulsion of feeling against the one ideology which can be our saving-as happened in Russia. I think we should firmly base ourselves on economic progress and schemes of development which bring prosperity to the people, and fearlessly follows the modern paths of progress completely ignoring the Maulvis.

2. Jinnah Awami League is a combination of disgruntled politicians. In the Punjab they have no great influence, because they are easily dubbed not so much as a party of opposition, as a discredited party in power turned out by the people in disgust for their failings. The Jinnah Awami League is no serious political rival to the Muslim League because it has no political programme or ideology, no alternative lead to give the people, and no hope for the future. It is in fact an infirmity of the Muslim League.

I can imagine a situation in which the people may lose confidence so entirely in the present leadership they may for a pause turn even to the Jinnah League, but the Jinnah League can only be short disastrous interval before chaos, bankruptcy of our leaders as well as our people.

3. Today the Communists have not a large popularity. Islam is a protection against materialistic theories. Patriotism, which is deep and instinctive but unevoked and unchanneled, rebels against extra-territorial loyalties.

But despair with Anglo-Americans leads to a search for an alternative; the only alternative is Russian, and Russia is therefore looked upon with some hope.

But Communism's real appeal is deeper, the appeal of economic self-interest is irresistible, and both economic deterioration as well as consciousness of economic deterioration

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and deprivation is increasing space.

We are fortunate in having Mian Iftikharuddin. He even ties up a clear thinking organisation like the Communist in the inextricable knots of his confusion. But we cannot depend too long on Mian Iftikharuddin.

Communism is the real opposition in the country and our inaction has given it an open field which will too soon yield its harvest.

4. There is a continual incipient opposition from disgruntled elements in the Muslim League. As still the vast majority of effective political elements have not broken away from the Muslim League this is in volume the largest potential opposition I suggest two approaches:

(a) Strong disciplinary action against those elements which are opposed to the ideology such as we impose in the future, of the Muslim League. I propose acting in this manner against the reactionary opposition to our land reforms. This will give the League the credit of sticking to principles.

(b) An attempt to win over those who are disgruntled due to personal reasons. The functioning of the Muslim League organisation in the near past has been grossly undemocratic and unfair, in places. These whom we thus alienated we must win back, because the fault ours, not theirs.

In conclusion, I will say that our greatest enemy is within and not without. It is a miracle that people stick to us despite our iniquities. It is a miracle that we are threatened, though there is yet none competent enough to threaten us. We have yet a space of time granted us to really Will we?

(My assessment is mainly based on conditions in the Punjab).

PROVINCIALISM.

Provincialism is a tremendous danger to Pakistan. To the world outside we are a political absurdity separated in our parts by thousands of miles of hostile territory, continually threatened by one of the strongest potential countries in the world, united by a concept of thought which in other parts of the world has lost all spiritual content. We can therefore only exist if the principles of our unity are so deep ingrained, if our mutual attraction is so strong and abiding, if our unity is so unshakable that it can resist all the illogicalities of geography and politics, and present a new concept of nationhood to the world, of this possibility which is our only claim to existence, provincialism is the greatest enemy.

Provincialism in India is not a threat. It is only an inconvenience, an embarrassment. To us it calls for utter and immediate destruction.

The real cause of provincialism is the weakness of the Centre. Pakistan cannot afford a weak Centre, because weakness in the Centre is the weakness of the only principle and possibility of unity.

The centre is not a thing apart from the provinces. It is derived from the provinces. It is in effect the political executive of the provinces who are determined to live together in indissoluble unity.

To fight provincialism, the first remedy is a strong centralised political leadership based on a policy-making Central Muslim League.

The second remedy is complete unity of outlook between the provincial and the Central leaderships. How is this to be achieved? It must be realised that provinces cannot be allowed to become independent principalities. The conditions in

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each province, the stability and prosperity of each province immediately affects the other. An N.W.F.P. drifting towards Paktoonistan, an East Bengal threatened by the unity of the Bengalis, a Sind torn by dissension a spell the immediate dissolution of the Punjab and vice versa. We stand or fall together. Therefore the policy of each is the concern of all. At the moment each is free to form its own policy. It is never discussed, determined, implemented in a common forum. I therefore suggest that the Central Leadership should set up a high-powered Committee consisting of its select representatives and representatives from the Provinces who should give their earnest consideration to the conditions and policies of each province, and devise a common policy on each issue which is backed whole-heartedly by the powers that be in the Centre and all the Provinces.

WHAT IS TO BE DONE

1. To rescue ourselves from the present drift and confusion to revive public confidence, to restore to Pakistan the ebullience and exhilaration of a new State embarked on the great adventure of construction, revival and progress, we must turn our attention first of all to build a strong political party. In all but autocratic states no political action is possible except through the weapon of an organised popular party.

My faith that the Muslim League can be revived is based on the conviction that even now the vast majority of active and proved political workers in the country have an attachment with the Muslim League continue to exert a magic influence on the loyalty of the masses, that the vital necessity of maintaining a broad solidarity to face national perils is realistically appreciated by all save a few defeated politicians and a few workers imbued by ideologies based on foreign loyalties. It must not however be ignored that lack of faith and hope in the Muslim League is mounting rapidly and the decline can only be checked by rapid dramatic decisive action. The following steps may help:

(a) Give proof that the Muslim League is in its own organisation, fair, democratic and unbiased. Our present system of party elections completely rules out fairness, for it is candidates for elections that manufacture the electoral registers. A system may be devised that reflect a democratic verdict of the people in the party elections. Similarly our present system of annual elections is an absurdity which can never be adhered to, and as it is not adhered to, it gives a certain illegality to our organisation and also provokes criticism. The electoral term may be extended to 3 to 5 years.

(b) Make the Muslim League a policy-making forum. Its councils must meet frequently to discuss and debate, to

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criticise and assess, so that each worker feels that the policy ultimately decided upon and implemented by the Muslim League Governments is a policy which he has shared in shaping. This feeling is the only real anti-septic against disruption and discontent.

It will only be possible to arrange frequent meetings of the Central Muslim League Council if some method is devised by which either members from East and West Pakistan can be brought together at regular intervals, or the two sections meet separately to coalesce for larger decisions in rare meetings of a select joint executive.

(c) Give the Muslim League a definite, distinct well-thought out policy and programme of political action. The Muslim League must have a clear vision of the future shape of Pakistan in all directions. It must solve the problem of freedom as it once resolved the problems and contradictions of slavery. It must have a clear agrarian policy, a definite interpretation of Islamic socialism in the sphere of industry and labour, a view of democracy, a scheme of administrative effectiveness in the centre, the provinces and the units of local government and so forth.

Not only should the policy be clear, but it must be consistently followed with equal implementation in all the provinces and the centre. If the Muslim League organisation is one, there can be no justification of a variety and degree of implementation in different units.

Before all other tasks the Muslim League Organisation must sit down and decide what is its content, what is its message, what is its worth to the people.

(d) Strengthen the internal organisation of the Muslim League by maintaining strict discipline and promoting constant activity.

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Discipline:

This requires central vigilance. The organisation at the moment faces both in the centre and the provinces the dilemma of the Premier-Presidents. This is useful for maintaining solidarity, discouraging disruption achieving unity of leadership, particularly as in the present stage of our political development the only ambition of a President who is not a Premier is to become a Premier and even if he does not wish it in the beginning, there will be enough schemers abroad to force him to wish it. At the same time the present system harms the organisation by concentrating two responsibilities which are individually a whole time job in one hand; it also draws the Premier into controversies and factional differences in which he would be strongest if he could maintain a benevolent neutrality; last of all it goes against the popular though mistaken concept that the organisation should be distinct from the Government, however a matter which requires keen thought and to which such This is/though thought must now be directed by all thinking elements in the organisation. In the meantime as long as Premiers are Presidents the work of organisation should be decentralised to committees and Secretaries. This would also relieve the Premier-President of the acrimony of faction and controversy, while retaining the final decision of vital matters in his hand.

Activity:

Apart from policy-making, the Muslim League Organisation, particularly in its primary branches must have day to day tasks to perform. Such tasks exist galors but no stress is laid on them, no notice taken of their importance. If examples are taken at random, there is vigilance over the administration, promotion of cooperation between Government servants and the people, encouragement of neat living, prepagation of small saving schemes, organisation of cottage industries etc. The Muslim League Organisation must take up

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itself particular day to day tasks of which the effectiveness, the work, the merit of its workers is assessed, and by which the ordinary citizen can also judge its immediate usefulness to them in their daily life.

(e) There must be some method of recognising the merit of good and devoted workers and of giving them due prominence and confidence in themselves.

(f) The Muslim league has lain dormant so long that both the masses who are its real strength and the organisation machinery require a real shake-up.

Along with a reform of the organisation, the need of the day is a dramatic political offensive by the Muslim League. In the next few days arrange a mounting crescendo of meetings and conferences in all provinces and all over the countryside-create a furore. This must be organised and led by the Central leadership. I suggest this for two reasons:

(i) If the Muslim League is dormant, the opposition is in a worse plight. They are struck with torpor, but the logic of the situation will in time equip and light them to fill the void. Before they can stumble to that, fill it yourself.

(ii) The central leadership will get an opportunity of rousing itself from a long sleep, and if they lead, they will also bring unity and cohesion to a political landscape which is fast passing into independent baronetcies and principalities.

(g) All organisation requires funds, not hand to mouth resources but real financial adequacy. That we have no further and yet five governments is an indication of the measuring of our ineffectiveness and torpor.

In conclusion I would suggest that the Muslim League

Organisation at the centre should immediately set up a small Committee or organisation which should give its thought to all the matters which face the organisation including those I have indicated; it should sit day to day and report within a month; it should be composed of persons who can really give time, and who can later on have the competence and the confidence to work as an implementation committee of the very decisions that they have taken.

2. We must have a clear and uniformly implemented policy about the measure of democracy we want to give to our people. Either let us not talk of democracy, or let us give as much as we promise. We are blessed with a realistic people. If we take them in our confidence, explain the difficulties of the situation and ask for powers, they will give them to us unhesitatingly, but let us prescribe the pattern and then implement it.

Democracy means different things in different provinces. This discredits the whole set up. If we implement the same pattern everywhere we will help each other and not stumble on each other's toes.

The safety Acts, due to our lack of initiative, have acquired wide-spread disfavour. The leadership should sit down and reform them consistently with the needs of the situation. Any mitigation of their present severity, which is more in show than in actual substance, would bring large popular revulsion of feelings in our favour.

3. I have already indicated that the earliest possible framing of the Constitution is an absolute necessity of the situation. Our delay puts us on such a bad wicket that very soon in matter of months, the situation will be out of our hands. I have clear indication that some powerful factors have already decided to make it the main issue of opposition.

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I suggest that we should fix a time - limit and have the constitution ready before the year is out. I see no technical difficulties in the way.

4. The issue of severance from the Commonwealth is a live one. The difficulties in the way are obvious, but the popular effect of a step in that direction is potent. The declaration of a 'republic' in the Constitution within this year may be a tremendous strength.

In any case a clear political lead and offensive is indicated in this issue, to be taken up by the Muslim League organisation.

5. Whether you have a federation or not, you must have a strong central political leadership. The final policy must be unified. The ultimate discipline must be central.

This means a strong central Muslim League, and a clear common policy sternly implemented.

6. The central leadership must have a clear and honest attitude towards the provincial leaderships. There must be no suspicion of intrigue or partisanship. Choose the people in whom you have confidence in the provinces and then support them whole-heartedly and without reserve. If you do not like the provincial leadership, frankly tell them so and decisively exert yourself to reform them or to change them. But there must be no question of lack of mutual cooperation and faith. If the centre works against the provincial leadership or vice versa, the result will be bitterest chaos.

7. We must undertake an offensive to win the sympathy of the intellectuals. Despite their seeming ineffectiveness they are a force of great insidious danger.

Their frustration can be overcome if we open prospects of a dignified useful active life in their own sphere. The

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lacs spent for this will revive our literature and art. Give our literature something to live for, and bring a new vitality to our national life.

8. The Muslim League organisation has no press. We should have the resources to have a first class English Daily, a good English Weekly and two Urdu or Bengali Dailies in each province.

An effort should also be made to organise and give cohesion and similarity of outlook to all the present pro-League press. This requires great personal contacts, but more than that it demands a clear political policy.

9. Immediate attention must also be given to a reform and vitilisation of the present administrative machinery. I wish only to indicate this problem and to emphasise its significance for the restoration of public confidence. It naturally requires separate examination. Similarly economic well-being, the just distribution of the national income, the maximisation of resources through integrated nation-wide development - these are matters which should absorb the immediate earnest attention of the Muslim League organisation and its governments, but they should be discussed not only on the administrative level. Already enough and fruitful attention is being devoted to important aspects, but on the political and national level, so that the development of the country may be a responsibility and an adventure in which all consciously participate, and of the tempo of which each is personally aware through his own share in the effort, and through his own pride in that share.

Summary of the Assessment and suggestion of Mian Mumtaz Muhammad Daultana placed with the approval of H.E. the Governor General on the Agenda of the Conference of the Governors and Chief Ministers and the Central Cabinet in their meeting of the 4th April 1952.

THE PRESENT POSITION AND HOW TO IMPROVE IT.

SECRET.

Present Position.

To face the situation frankly, the prevailing mood in the country is one of lack of enthusiasm, of faith and confidence, and widespread cynicism. There is a general attitude of drift; and there is very lukewarm confidence, if any at all, in the capacity of the leadership, particularly in the event of any big crisis, some of the reasons for this situation seem to be as follows:-

(1) International:

Continued humiliation over failures on the Kashmir issue. Blame is being put for these on the inaptitude and weakness of Government. This easy line of propaganda coupled with propaganda about Pakistan's servility towards Anglo-American bloc despite its partiality towards India, is being pursued vigorously by the powerful Moscow-inspired press of Mian Iftikhar-ud-Din and had adversely affected popular confidence in Govt. The severance of connections with Commonwealth may become a strong popular issue in the near future unless it is anticipated with proper preparation and active political work in advance.

(2) National administration:

People have learnt the power of agitation. They have also become politically conscious but only about their rights without being conscious of their duties. They demand a high order of efficiency and integrity in the administration and are sensitive about the existing corruption and inefficiency, without realising their own responsibilities for and share in it. They expect the few that are in charge of Government for

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setting things right and blame them for not doing so.

(3) Provincialism:

The central leadership, particularly in its political aspect, is generally considered weak and incapable of imposing stern and efficient discipline. There is a feeling that provinces can behave like autonomous principalities and gain concessions by bullying and threatening the centre. This has produced a tendency to think on provincial lines - each province for itself against all others and against the centre.

(4) Ideological confusion:

There is no clear indication about the pattern of democracy or the amount of freedom of speech or political action which Pakistan should have in its present circumstances. Different Provincial Governments adopted different lines of approach. Delay in the framing of the constitution has become a national joke. About the amount of democracy or political freedom which can be allowed at present about the exact shape and form of the constitution, people take a realistic view without being too fastidious. Confusion arises from the lack of a clear policy and is used by the opposition to propagate the slander that the delay in the framing of the constitution is due to the unwillingness of those in power to obtain the mandate of the general population.

(5) Economic:

Vague hopes have been aroused about the "Islamic Socialism" but no change of system has been attempted. Meanwhile, old standards of life are less complacently accepted now and the standard in urban areas has deteriorated. Communists are making good use of the distress and the growing unemployment in towns and appeal to immediate personal interests gets across easily with subtle political implications.

(6) Hostility of 'intellectuals':

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Professional 'intellectuals' like journalists, poets, story-writers, have not yet shed their past tradition of regarding opposition to Government, of mocking and abusing it and of spreading despair and disaffection as the right thing to do. Frustration of personal ambitions, sometimes exaggerated, is the main cause of this.

(7) Break-up of Political Party:

It should be admitted that the Muslim League has ceased to be a political force, commanding loyalty and affection of its workers. Now all those whose personal interests are best secured by supporting Government or remaining on its right side are Muslim Leaguers, but only as long as it suits them. Among the reasons for this are:

(a) After the achievement of Pakistan the Muslim League has no ideology, no political content and no day to day tasks to perform;

(b) The lack of a proper machinery in the centre to look after disputes and differences in the organisation which gives the impression that each provincial League is an independent principality and thus weakens cohesion and sense of unity.

(c) Because the League workers are not taken into confidence in the framing of broad policies they have neither the clarity of thought nor enthusiasm to defend anything and do not relish the position of being mere defenders of Government; and

(d) Because no real respect and prominence are given to devoted Muslim League Workers. There can of course be no question of making any Muslim League Worker irresponsible favourite of the administration; but unless merit is rewarded and loyalty brings dividends it is difficult to win or retain it.

(8) Isolation of central leadership:

It is possible to have a
xxx xxx a federation of provinces but not a federation of
leaderships. In Pakistan central leadership has not been
elected since Partition and there is an impression that the
constitution is being delayed to avoid an appeal to the people.
The present central Ministers have become administrative
chiefs with diminishing political contacts. A policy of
taking decisions behind closed doors and through personal
contacts and reluctance to place political issues before the
people give central leadership the colour of a departmental
bureaucracy in the eyes of the public.

ASSESSMENT OF THE OPPOSITION:

There is general discontentment in the country,
but no organised opposition at present capable of rallying
round an alternative party to replace the Muslim League.

(1) The opposition of the Maulvis adds somewhat to
the discontentment but they are not credited with any
capacity to man a proper opposition. The organised Jammaat-i-
Islami has some influence over small Govt. functionaries,
but is no real menace. We are now unnecessarily overawed by
the Maulvis and give them undue importance by leaving to them
the interpretation of Islam as something opposed to progress
and the march of the times. We must firmly base ourselves
on economic progress and schemes of development which bring
prosperity to the people, according to the spirit of Islam.

(2) The Jinnah Awami League is a combination of
disgruntled politicians with no political programme no
alternative lead and no hope for the future. It is like an
infirmary of the Muslim League.

(3) At present the Communists do not have a large
popularity. Religion and patriotism are a protection against
them. But despair with the Anglo - American bloc and their

favour. Communism is the real opposition in the country and our inaction is giving it an open field.

(4) There is also a continual incipient opposition of disgruntled elements in the Muslim League. This should be dealt with by the dual method of strong disciplinary action against those opposed to any programme or ideology which the Muslim League may adopt and an attempt to win over those who are disgruntled because of unfair treatment. These demands will give the league the credit of sticking to principles.

I must say that my assessment of the opposition is mainly based on conditions of the Punjab.

How to counter Provincialism.

In a peculiarly made up country like Pakistan the most potent danger to its future is provincialism. The real cause of provincialism is the weakness of the centre. Pakistan can never afford a weak centre which means the weakness of the only principle and possibility of unity. To fight provincialism we should have (i) a strong centralised political leadership based on a policy-making central Muslim League and (ii) complete unity of outlook between the provincial and the central leaderships.

I suggest that the central leadership should set up a High-Power Committee, consisting of its select representative and representatives of the Provinces who should give their

earnest consideration to the conditions and policies of each province and devise a common policy on each issue to be backed by the powers that be in the centre and provinces.

What is to be done about the general situation

(1) The first thing to do is to build a strong political party. In all but autocratic States no political action is possible except through an organised popular party. The Muslim League can still be revived because, in the first place, the vast majority of active and proved workers in the country are still attached to it and the past glorious traditions of the Muslim League still influence the loyalty of the Masses and the vital necessity of maintaining solidarity in the face of national perils is still realistically appreciated by the people in general. Rapid, Dramatic and decisive action, is, however, necessary to check growing lack of faith and hope in the Muslim League. The following steps may help;

(a) Our present system of party elections, which completely rules out fairness, should be changed. At present candidates for elections manufacture the electoral registers. What we need is a system which reflects real democratic verdict in the party elections. Similarly, the present system of annual election is impossible to adhere to and only creates illegalities and provokes criticism. The electoral term must be extended to three to five years.

(b) The Muslim League should be made a policy making forum. Its councils should meet frequently to discuss and debate, to criticise and assess, so that each worker may feel his share in shaping the policies to be implemented by the Muslim League Governments. This feeling is the only real guarantee against disruption and discontent. Either members of the Central Muslim League Council from East and West Pakistan may meet at regular intervals or the two sections may meet separately to coalesce for larger decisions.

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(c) The Muslim League should be given a definite, distinct, well-thought-out policy and programme of political action. The league should have a clear vision of the future shape of Pakistan in all directions a clear agrarian policy, a definite interpretation of Islamic socialism in the sphere of industry and labour, a view of democracy and a scheme of administrative effectiveness in the centre, the Provinces and local bodies. Not only should the policy be clear but should also be implemented with uniformity in all Provinces and the Centre. The Muslim League should now decide what is its content, its message and its worth to the people.

(d) Internal organisation should be maintained by (1) strict discipline and (2) promoting constant activity.

The fact that the offices of Premier and President of the League are now combined in one person in the Centre and the Provinces has its advantages and disadvantages. Whether this should continue in future requires very careful thought. Meanwhile as long as Premiers are also Presidents, the work of organisation should be decentralised to Committee and Secretaries. This would relieve the Premier-President of the acremony of factions and controversies, but retain final decisions of vital matters in his hands.

as far as promotion of activity is concerned, the Muslim League organisation, particularly its primary branches should actively interest themselves in practical tasks of economic development and social uplift for instance, exercise vigilance over the administration promote cooperation between Government servants and the people, encourage neat living, propagate small savings schemes, organise cottage industries etc.

(e) There should be some method of re-organising of good and devoted workers and giving them prominence and self-confidence.

(f) To give a real shake-up to its own organization as well

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as to the masses, who have lain dormant so long, the Muslim League should start a dramatic political offensive, arrange a mounting crescendo of meetings and conferences in all provinces and create a furore. This should be organised and led by the central leadership. This will arouse the central leadership itself from a long sleep and give unity and cohesion to a political landscape which is fast lapsing into independent baronetcies and principalities. Before the opposition can wake up from its present torpor, worse than the inactivity of the Muslim League, the League should fill the void.

(g) The Muslim League should have adequate funds. It is strange that a party running five Governments should have such poor financial resources as the League now has.

(h) I would suggest the setting up of a small Committee of organisation to give thought to the above and other questions facing the organization. It should sit day to day and report within a month. It should consist of persons who can really give time and later have the competence and the confidence to work as an Implementation Committee.

(2) We should be clear about a uniform pattern and measure of democracy throughout the country. We can take our people into confidence, explain any difficulties and ask for whatever powers we think necessary. They will take a realistic view. But we should give what we promise.

Any mitigation of the safety laws, which may be possible will be very popular.

(3) A time limit should be fixed for the framing of the constitution which should be ready before the year is out.

(4) The issue of leaving the Commonwealth is a live one. The declaration of a Republic in the constitution within this year may be a tremendous strength. In any case, a clear political lead and offensive by the Muslim League organization seem to

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be necessary.

(5) Whether you have a federation or not, you must have a strong central political leadership. The final policy must be unified. The ultimate discipline must be central.

(6) The central leadership must have a clear and honest attitude towards the provincial leaderships. Choose the people in whom you have confidence in the provinces and then support them whole-heartedly and without reserve. There must be no suspicion of intrigue or partisanship or lack of mutual cooperation or faith. The centre working against a provincial leadership or vice versa can only result in the bitterest chaos.

(7) We should under take an offensive to win the sympathy of intellectuals. A sum of Rs 10,00,000/- spent to open prospects of useful active life for them will probably remove their frustration and also revive our literature and art.

(8) The Muslim League organization should have a first class English daily, a good English weekly, and two Urdu or Bengali dailies in each province. An effort should also be made to organise and give cohesion and similarity of outlook to all the present pro-League press. This demands a clear political policy besides personal contacts.

(9) The reform and vitalisation of the administrative machinery, schemes of economic development and just distribution of the national income are already discussed on the administrative level. They should also be discussed on the political and national level so that all may consciously participate in these schemes and each may feel a pride in his share in the adventure of nation-building.

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Sectarian meetings to be banned in the Punjab.

Lahore. June 11. The Punjab Chief Minister, Mian Mumtaz Mohd Khan Daultana passed orders today instructing all the District Magistrates in the Province to ban public meetings and processions "which engender or tend to engender a threat to public law and order on sectarian grounds".

The District Magistrates, have been asked to exercise their absolute discretion in relation to permitting or banning of any public meeting till further orders. They are also required to keep an eye on Juma engregations which are or may be used for the propagation of sectarian hatred by Khatibs.

The 16 District Magistrates are empowered to take deterrent action under the common law and the emergency laws.

It is recalled that for some time past Ahrrar elements in the province have been active in creating sectarian hatred against the Qadianis and at certain places ugly situations have arisen.

The preventive powers of the District Magistrates apply equally to Qadiani meetings or processions of like character.

APPENDIX NO.6

Dawn

Founded by Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah, Karachi.

Wed., July 2, 1952.

Editor: AITAF HUSAIN.

PUNJAB TO STAMP OUT ALL PSEUDO RELIGIOUS MENACE.

From Dawn Special Representative.

Lahore, July 1: The Home Secretary of the Punjab Government Mr. Ghiasuddin, told Lahore editors here today bluntly that the administration was determined to stamp out all PSEUDO religious menace to unity of the Nation and well-being of the Society.

The Lahore editors had requested an authoritative exposition of the Punjab Government's policy in view of recent arrests of Ahl-e-Bid'at and imposition of section 144 in certain districts of the Province. The DIG of CID Punjab Mian Anwar Ali, was also present at the editors' meeting in the office of the Director of Public Relations.

The Home Secretary refuted the allegation that sec. 144 was also imposed on Juma congregations and that some Ahl-e-Bid'at leaders were arrested from within the mosques. He challenged the Ahl-e-Bid'at agitationists to cite a single instance of that nature.

But he emphasised, if any Khatib or public speaker misused Juma congregations for creating sectarian hatred, he had to answer to the law later on.

THEOCRATIC ASPECT.

Referring to the theocratic aspect of the Ahl-e-Bid'at agitation against the Qadianis, the Home Secretary said that the Government was not at all concerned with it. Every citizen had a right to express his religious opinions and that could not be banned provided it did not amount to threat

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to maintenance of law and order in the country. No movement which disrupted peace and security of the people could be and would be permitted, howsoever theocratic it might appear, he asserted.

Mr. Ghiasuddin told the pressmen that all the arrests of Ahhraris in this connection had been made under the common law of the land.

The Home Secretary appealed to the Press not to be misled by the theocratic colouring of the Ahhrar movement and always to keep in mind the vital fundamentals of social well-being and national unity.

(See Editorial)

DAWN

appendix No.7.

Wednesday, July 2, 1952.

South Napier Road, Karachi Phones editorial

3463 & 2542

Managerial 3701

Wednesday, July 2, 1952

9 Shawwal, 1371.

MPMC - Pakistan's aim.

Three days ago it was officially announced in Karachi that the Muslim Prime Ministers' Conference which was expected to be held after the Ramzan had been again postponed. The announcement said: "It was hoped that by the end of Ramzan when pressing domestic problems, with which some of the invited countries were occupied, would have sufficiently eased to enable the Prime Ministers of these countries to attend. Unfortunately, this has not been the case".

The postponement may be disappointing, but few will fail to be convinced by the reason given. On the very next day after the announcement was made in Karachi, once again an Egyptian Cabinet fell, Hilaly Pasha tendering his resignation to King Farouk as a confession of failure. Since the dismissal of Nahas Pasha at the beginning of this year Egypt has had two Governments already and a third one has just taken over. In Iran, Premier Mossadeq, though continuing to put up a heroic fight against the British-sponsored economic boycott is also facing internal troubles and frequently talks of resigning. In Jordan one of the most intriguing situations of modern times has developed around the throne of King Talal. In Syria, the army continues to rule and daily strengthens its position vis a vis the politicians. Looking eastwards at Indonesia one finds comparatively greater stability, but under the calm surface lies much unsettledness which has still to be conquered.

It is not easy to bring together for a common consultative purpose a group of countries battling against such

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unfavourable external as well as internal conditions, and that is precisely what Pakistan has undertaken for the common good. In doing so Khawaja Nazimuddin and Chaudhri Zafrullah Khan have put one desire to place Pakistan at the service of other Muslim nations. Pakistan stands to gain least, if at all. Those who sometimes feel tempted to lend their ear to the insinuation that this country is aiming at leadership of the Muslim world will do well to appreciate the fact that, with the exception of Turkey which does not like being called a Muslim country, Pakistan alone presents at this moment an example of stability and progress. She is anxious that all Muslim nations should develop these sources of strength. Whether she will succeed in bringing that about will depend more on others than on herself. But let not our friends in Cairo or anywhere else make the mistake of thinking that our country has any axe to grind in trying to be helpful to them. Pakistan can and will march forward-if necessary alone.

Punjab arrests.

Lately the Punjab Government have shown determination in dealing with disruptive sectarian hotheads. A number of Ahrar leaders have been arrested for defying ban on meetings and other alleged offences. The Punjab Government have now issued a Press note which not only justifies the action taken but also makes one wonder why such firmness did not come into play much earlier. According to the Press note the controversy between the Ahrars and the Ahmadis in the province has been taking the ugly form of inflammatory and provocative speeches at public meetings. These speeches "were mainly concerned with promoting mutual hatred between two classes of Pakistani citizens," the official statement says. It further discloses that acts of violence took place "involving loss of human lives and other most deplorable consequences". The Press note mentions a poster published by one of the parties, which

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"openly advocated the killing of the propagandists of the other party and forcible seizure of its mosque". All this shows that trouble had been brewing for a very considerable time. One may well conclude that Government's inaction in the past encouraged these elements to go to the lengths they did. However, now that the authorities have awakened to their duty they should receive the support of all peace loving and patriotic citizens. It is also to be hoped that the firmness will be maintained and if necessary all sectarian organizations which tend to create hatred between sections of Pakistanis will be outlawed.

In this connection it may be pointed out that although Law and Order is a provincial responsibility under the present Constitution inherited from the British days, in respect of problems which are not confined to any particular province it is the Centre which should lay down a national policy. Few can deny that sectarian controversies fall within this field. The Central Government will be well advised to decide without further delay their attitude to policy which will be effective throughout the question and announce a well defined country. One would also like to ask what, if anything, has the Central Ministry of the Interior been able to do in order to verify the report, published several weeks ago in a number of leading newspapers, that in a meeting at Peshawar the Ahrar leader, Syed Ataullah Shah Bohari, had publicly insulted the memory of the Quaid-e-Azam and challenged the Government to take action against him if he dared? Surely, enough time has passed for a report to be obtained on this matter. Is the public to conclude that the authorities concerned are either too indifferent to insults to the Quaid-e-Azam or too timid to deal with the Ahrar leader? We would advise them not to take the matter so lightly.

Last Pakistan's first Pre-Cadet School appears to have come into being rather quietly, for until a report came in

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two days ago of that province's Governor, Chief Minister and GOC's visit to the institution nothing much had been heard of it. We wonder whether this infant but important institution received better publicity in its own province. The Chief Minister, Mr. Nurul amin, is reported to have expressed his disappointment that only 15 pupils had joined it although arrangements for the teaching of 40 had been made. The school has been started in order to produce suitable young East Pakistanis for the officer cadres do not take advantage of it, its purpose will remain largely unfulfilled. At one time there was some talk of the Government offering inducements in the shape of bearing all or part of the cost of boys who might be otherwise suitable for admission in the institution but poor. Has this been done? In any event, it should be the concern of the Provincial authorities to secure for the school the full complement of pupils and they do so if they are earnest about it.

APPENDIX NO. 8

DAWN DATED 3-7-1952.

YOUR TURN SIR!

PUNJAB GOVERNMENT

PAKISTAN GOVERNMENT

PSEUDO
RELIGIOUS
MENACE

Photo

Photo

The Punjab Government has started stamping out the
pseudo religious menace.

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Confidential.

Decisions taken at a Conference of Officers held under the Chairmanship of the Chief Secretary in his office on Saturday July 5, 1952.

Present.

- (1) Chief Secretary to Govt. Punjab (in the Chair).
- (2) Inspector General of Police, Punjab.
- (3) Deputy Inspector General of Police, C.I.D. Punjab.
- (4) Home Secretary to Government, Punjab.
- (5) District Magistrate Gujrat.
- (6) District Magistrate, Lahore.
- (7) District Magistrate, Rawalpindi.
- (8) District Magistrate, Shahpur at Sargodha.
- (9) Additional Deputy Commissioner, Jhelum.
- (10) District Magistrate, Gujranwala.
- (11) District Magistrate, Lyallpur.
- (12) District Magistrate, Montgomery.
- (13) Additional District Magistrate, Sialkot.
- (14) Director, Public Relations, Punjab.

Decisions:

Action D.Ms. (i) The orders under Section 144 Cr.P.C. should be amended wherever necessary so as to make them applicable specifically to the public meetings organised by the Ahrar or the Ahmedis only without making any mention of the venue of the meeting. The model order promised by Government would be sent to the District Magistrates as early as possible but District Magistrates concerned need not defer the issue of revised orders to await the receipt of the Government draft.

Action D.Ms. (2) If any members of the Ahrar party or the Ahmadiya community deliver violent or inflammatory

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speeches at any public meeting not organized by their respective organization a reference should be made to Government for action under section 153 P.P.C. or the public Safety Act. Pending the receipt of Government orders the culprits should not be arrested unless it is considered to be absolutely necessary.

Action D.Ms.(3) No action should be taken to disperse meetings organized by the Ahrar or the Ahmedis even outside mosques unless it becomes an imperative necessity to do so for the maintenance of law and order. Meetings being held in mosques are in no case to be interfered with in any way and action should be taken regarding all meetings whether held inside a place of worship or in other public places by the registration of regular cases against the prominent leaders of the two groups only.

Action D.P.R.(4) The Government propaganda machinery should be accelerated so that the interested parties cannot dupe the public and the true significance and nature of the action taken by Government is explained to the common man, Pamphlets, leaflets and posters should be prepared and distributed to the District Magistrates for dissemination throughout their districts, Propaganda through newspapers should also be intensified and the papers which are generally pro-Government should be asked to cooperate in this matter also because their attitude is anything but favourable towards Government in this matter.

Action D.Ms.(5) Maulvis and Khatibs of the various mosques should be contacted by the District Magistrates and the true picture of the whole situation should be

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contacted by the District Magistrates and the true picture of the whole situation should be laid before them so that the interested parties cannot play upon their religious sentiments and mislead them into inveighing against Government.

Action D.Ms.
DPR. & DIG.
CID.

(6) The Convention called for 13th July 1952 in Lahore should not be interfered with in any way. The speeches delivered and the decisions taken there should be examined later to see what action, if any, is called for. This Convention may actually prove to be useful from the point of view of Government if the intending participants are contacted by the District Magistrates or the Director, Public Relations and prevailed upon to denounce preaching of violence and defiance of law. The Deputy Inspector General of Police, CID. will make an effort to intimate the names of the intending participants to the District Magistrates concerned.

Action D.Ms. (7) In all action taken in this connection by officers on their own initiative or in accordance with the Government instructions issued from time to time it should be borne in mind that the ultimate object is to kill the threat to law and order created by the Ahrar Ahmadi controversy by isolating these two organizations from the rest of the public. This will destroy the unfounded bogey of interference with the religious and political rights of the public by Government which the Ahrar have created in their desperate effort to regain their lost power.

No.181-St(HS)/52 dated Lahore, the 5th July 1952.

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Copies are forwarded for information, guidance and necessary action to:

- (1) All the above-mentioned officers who attended the conference;
- (2) all the remaining District Magistrates in the Punjab and
- (3) all the Commissioners of Divisions in the Punjab.

Sd:Ghias-ud-Din Ahmad.

Home Secretary to Government, Punjab.

At today's meeting held in the Governor's house H.E. desired to have a brief note regarding the action that was taken against the Ahrar in July 1952. The details of this action are given below:

The D.I.G./C.I.D. pointed out on May 20, 1952, the dangerous turn the Ahrar-Ahmadi controversy had taken and made certain specific proposals in consultation with the H.S. and I.G. Police. These proposals were discussed by H.C.M. with C.S., H.S., I.G.P., and D.I.G./CID. and it was decided to issue a directive to all D.M.s banning public meetings of the Ahrar and Ahmedis. This order was issued on 5th June 1952, and required D.M.s. to take action u/s 144 Cr.P.C. As it was later felt that the Ahrar might take advantage of the immunity afforded by mosques and hold their meetings there, a signal was issued to all the D.M.s. on 19th June 1952, detailing the action that they should take in case the Ahrar had recourse to this stratagem for evading the operation of their order. They were told that they should not disperse by force or otherwise interfere with any public meeting which was being held in a mosque or any other place of sanctity or worship, but they were required to register cases against the culprits and to take action against them after the excitement of the meeting was over. A further directive was issued on the 28th June 1952, explaining to the D.M.s. that the intention of Government was that the Ahrar leaders should be isolated from the rest of the public and that Government did not desire the net to be thrown wider for drawing in people of other denominations also. Then a meeting of D.M.s. of the Punjab, Gujrat, Lahore, Rawalpindi, Sargodha, Gujranwala, Lyallpur, Montgomery and Sialkot was held at Lahore which was presided over by C.S. and was attended by I.G.P., D.G./C.I.D., H.S. and D.P.R. A copy of the minutes of that meeting is placed below:

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The necessity for the issue of these elaborate directives was felt because the Ahrar had started the Propaganda that restrictions had been imposed upon mosques and were also trying to enlist the sympathy of non-Ahrar is for the demands sponsored by them.

Strong action was taken in Sargodha and Gujranwala. Cases were registered and arrests were made in other districts also. In Sargodha, Sheikh Hissam-ud-Din, Master Taj-ud-Din and some other Ahrar is actually convicted and sentenced to imprisonment.

On 19th July a riotous mob actually came into conflict with the Police when they attempted to attack Kup Police Station, Multan City. After this incident H.C.M. convened a meeting which was attended by I.G.P. D.I.G/C.I.D. & H.S. (C.S. was on leave at that time). At this meeting H.C.M. said that the Ahrar leaders had given an assurance to him which was being released by them to the press and in which they had undertaken to refrain from lawlessness and acts of violence and had actually said that they would protect the life, property and honour of the Ahemdis. H.C.M. also said that in view of this assurance the orders u/s 144 Cr.P.C. and the cases registered for their villation should be withdrawn. Orders were issued accordingly.

The Ahrar had given their assurance to the H.C.M. through the Director of Public Relations. I have obtained a note from him on the subject which is also placed below.

Sd: S.Ghias-ud-Din Ahmad.
22-3-1953.

H.E.
(By Special messenger).

Reference: H.S.'s telephonic talk with me today.

Some time in July last H.C.M. told me on the telephone that a newspaper reporter has brought him a request from the Ahrar leaders for an interview. H.C.M. said that he would not like to act on what the newspaper reporter had told him about the Ahrar Leaders' anxiety not to come into conflict with law. H.C.M. instructed me to ascertain from the Ahrar leaders what they wanted to tell him. I met the Ahrar leaders in their office and gave H.C.M. my report of what they had said, whereupon H.C.M. agreed to give them an interview. This took place a few days later in H.C.M.'s room in the Secretariat. It was decided there that the Ahrar leaders would issue a public statement giving an assurance that the Majlis-i-Ahrar would not resort to violence or lawlessness in pursuing their demands and that they would help government in maintaining law and order. H.C.M. told them that if they issued a public statement to this effect, Government would consider sympathetically the question of lifting the restrictions on their meetings under section 144 and releasing certain Ahrars leaders who were not accused of violence or preaching violence.

The Ahrar leaders issued their statement which appeared in all newspapers of Lahore on 20-7-1952

✓ The relevant cutting from Afaq is placed below. Two days later H.C.M. issued a statement, vide relevant cutting from Zamindar placed below.

Mir Nur Ahmad.
21-3-1953.

H.S.

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APPENDIX 32 C & M: G. 13-9-1952.

DAULTANA

Making an impassioned appeal to the people of Rawalpindi to make unity their watchword, the Punjab Chief Minister Mian Mumtaz Muhammad Khan Daultana, said the greatest need of the country at the moment was to strengthen and consolidate Pakistan by whatever means possible, so that its people may reap the fruits of freedom in an atmosphere of calm and security.

The Chief Minister was making his speech at a public meeting organised by the local Muslim League.

Mian Daultana said the three precepts of the Qaid-e-Azam, i.e., unity, faith and discipline were in fact the three pillars of a rising nation like ours.

Explaining his point further, the Chief Minister said: "I am laying special stress on unity, because I sincerely believe that through unity alone we conquer our difficulties..

" I want to make the country a true Islamic republic, in which everyone, irrespective of his political opinions should have equal rights and everything should be settled by exemplary justice; where people are well off economically and morally, where people are sincere, sober and earnest in achieving the common good of the country..

" I would, therefore, request you to unite, forget petty squabbles, leave aside sectional interests, which hinder the free growth of Islamic democracy and discard all those things which may even tend to bring a cleavage between the citizens of Pakistan".

Proceeding, the Chief Minister said by unity he did not mean that there should be no difference of opinion in politics or that there should be no other political party

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in the country except that in power, but he meant just the opposite. He wanted more political parties consisting of honest and sincere men, having the good of the country at their heart. He did not mind, rather he welcomed, even if they severely castigated him or reprimanded him, provided, of course, the aim of their castigation or reprimand was constructive and was honestly meant to improve him or the conditions in the country. Here he sounded a note of warning to those "disruptionist elements" which, he said, were deliberately trying to confuse the issues facing the country, and those who had no other notice than to create disunity in the ranks of the nation by diverting the attention of the people to personal, sectional or parochial matters.

SECTIONALISM & FAVOURITISM

The Chief Minister of the Punjab then dwelt at length at "evils of sectionalism and favouritism", which he feared were on the increase with the creation of Pakistan. He said "if we do not check these evils now they will eat into the structure of the society and the state and reduce us back to the position of nonentity. Pakistan belongs to all Shias, Sunnies, Wahabies etc. It does not belong to a single sect or faction. All have equal rights and anyone who takes up sectional feelings is doing disservice not only to Islam but to his country and even to himself.

"I would therefore, appeal you in the name of your religion, your conscience and your country to discard sectionalism and favouritism so that the administration is purified of all its ailments and the country is run on sound lines".

Continuing, Mian Daultana touched upon the issue of Ahmadism and said he firmly believed in the finality of the Prophet Muhammad and any person who did not believe so was, according to him, not a Muslim as he was. But, he said, this did not mean that a person who did not believe so should

have no right to live in the country.

✓ All those people who live in Pakistan and are loyal to Pakistan, be they Hindus, Christians or any other sect or religion, came under the protection of the Government of the country and also of the people, To protect each one of the countrymen was the foremost duty of a Muslim as also of the Government; so long as I am on the helm of affairs I will see that no harm is done to any loyal Pakistani purely because of his different faith, caste, or creed.

✓ Proceeding, he said the question of declaring the Ahmadis a minority was not a religious but a constitutional issue, which should be treated as such and discussed dispassionately and coolly. He appealed to the Ahlars and other religious organisations to create a clam atmosphere for the consideration of such a question.

Concluding, the Chief Minister discussed the food question and advised the people to consider the matter in its true perspective. "Food shortages do occur even in countries like Australia, USSR and USA, but these people have learnt to tide over periods of diversity", he said.

APPENDIX 15.

DAWN 22-7-1952.

PASRUR MEETING.

D.E. 161

DUALTANA SAYS DECLARING AHMADIS AS MINORITY IS
CONSTITUTIONAL PROBLEM.

PASRUR, July 21: Mian Mumtaz Muhammad Khan Daultana, Punjab's Chief Minister, observed here to day that the demand for the declaration of the Ahmadis as a minority was an all-Pakistan problem of a constitutional nature and should be tackled by adopting constitutional method.

Addressing the Sialkot District Muslim League Conference, he said: first, Khatm-i-Nabuwat was an article of faith with Muslims and there could neither be any doubt nor any argument about it, secondly, the demand that the Ahmadis should be declared a minority was an all-Pakistan problem of a constitutional nature which had to be referred to the Pakistan Muslim League and the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan. It could only solved by sober deliberations and constitutional methods and not by resorting to violence or by holding demonstrations. Thirdly, it was the national as well as the religious duty of all Muslims of Pakistan to protect the life, property and honour of all citizens of Pakistan, including the minorities, Christians and other non-Muslims.

MIAN MUMTAZ MUHAMMAD KHAN DAULTANA SAID
THAT INCITEMENT OF SECTARIAN HATRED WOULD
PROVE DIASTROUS FOR THE SECURITY OF THE
HARDWON STATE OF PAKISTAN.

DEFLANCE OF LAW

The Punjab Chief Minister denounced the defiance of law and order and disclosed that the Ahrar leaders had assured him the other day that they had no intention of defy-

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ing the law of the land and would extend every possible co-operation to the Muslim League Government for the preservation of peace in the Punjab. He thought that irresponsible and short-sighted men had been responsible for the unhappy incidents of the past..

Mr. Daultana also condemned the misbehaviour of goondas and referring to the reports of molestation of women and arrests of goondas in Lahore, he said that if necessary, similar stern action will be taken in other districts. He, appealed to the people to co-operate with the Government and treat the goondas as national enemies. This can be effectively accomplished through their social boycott, he suggested.

Earlier, the Chief Minister congratulated the administrative machinery for its successful anti-hoarding and procurement drive and disclosed that the Provincial Govt. were also importing wheat in sufficient quantities. He again sought the co-operation of the people in unearthing hoarded stocks of wheat.

GIVING A BRIEF RESUME OF THE ACHIEVEMENTS OF THE MUSLIM LEAGUE MINISTRY, MR. DAULTANA SAID THAT ROAD CONSTRUCTION HAD INCREASED 12 TIMES SINCE PARTITION 1,200 PRIMARY SCHOOLS, 60 MIDDLE SCHOOLS AND 12 HIGH SCHOOLS WERE BEING OPENED EVERY YEAR. A PRECADET MILITARY COLLEGE HAD BEEN OPENED IN M'GOMERY AND SCIENCE & ENGINEERING COLLEGES AND FOUR NORMAL SCHOOLS WERE ALSO STARTED.

IN THE DOMAIN OF HEALTH, IT WAS PROPOSED TO PROVIDE IN THE 16 DISTRICTS OF THE PROVINCE GOOD HOSPITALS AND THE NUMBER OF MOBILE DISPENSARIES WAS BEING INCREASED FOR THE RURAL AREAS. IN ORDER TO MEET THE SHORTAGE OF DOCTORS, THE NISHTAR MEDICAL COLLEGE AND THE FATIMA JINNAH COLLEGE WERE TRAINING AS MANY DOCTORS AS POSSIBLE..

The Punjab Chief Minister described electricity as an essential pre-requisite for progress and prosperity and said that with the completion of the Rasul Hydel Project the Punjab will no longer depend on others.

Mr. Daultana pointed out that the blind criticism of every governmental action and the expectation that the Government should do everything betrayed the pre-independence mentality of slogan mongering and general denunciation. Now that times had changed and the country was no longer under the yoke of foreigners, the public should reorientate its outlook, he said.

Reminding the Muslim League workers of their obligations, he said they should come closer to the masses, hear their grievances and solve their problems. He suggested that instead of becoming "professionals" in recommendations to the Administration, they should help the Government in stamping out corruption, nepotism and favouritism.

The Punjab League President was welcomed by Sheikh Mohammad Shah Nawaz, MLA, and Chaudhry Abdul Gani, Chief Parliamentary Secretary and President of the Sialkot District Muslim League, presented him a purse.

Earlier, in the morning the Punjab Chief Minister inspected a rally of Razakars and witnessed guerilla and bayonet fighting. He returned to Lahore in the evening. APP.

DAWN

DATED 13-7-1952.

APPENDIX No.10.

ULEMA BAN ON KHATIB OF SHAHI MASJID

ANTI-AHRAR VIEWS.

From Dawn Special Representative.

LAHORE, July 12: All day yesterday and today local Ahrar elements pleaded for a contradiction from the five eminent religious leaders of Lahore whose views on the anti-Qadiani agitation were published in Dawn dated July 10.

The Ahrars failed utterly in their efforts.

Today's Civil and Military Gazette, Lahore, lifted the story from Dawn. Extracts of the views of the eminent religious leaders taken from Dawn were circulated here today in the form of handbills published by public spirited individuals.

An interesting offshoot is the decision of the Ahrars to deny invitation to the famous Khatib of the Badshahi Masjid, Maulana Ghulam Furshad, for tomorrow's ulema convention as a mark of disagreement with his candid views expressed in Dawn.

Incidentally the exclusion of Maulana Ghulam Furshad from the ulema convention reduces its representative character substantially.

Today's Zamindar carried an exclusive story on its front page yelling the usual murder and death against Dawn and threatened Dawn Special Representative here with "dire consequences" if he did not desist from his "nefarious

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efforts to create rift in the united anti-Mirzai front of the ulema with the Ahrars".

APPENDIX NO. 11
(Eleven)

DAWN

FOUNDED BY QAID-I-AZAM MOHAMMAD ALI JINNAH

--

KARACHI

--

Monday, July 14, 1952

21 Shawwal, 1371

Editor: Altaf Husain.

LAHORE D.C. SEEKS ULEMA'S ASSISTANCE TO
RAISE MORALS.

LAHORE, July 13: The Ahrar Ahmadi controversy was discussed in Lahore yesterday at a meeting of leading local Ulema convened by Syed Ejaz Hussain Shah, Deputy Commissioner of Lahore.

✓ Maulana Dawood Ghaznavi, Maulana Abdul Ali Maudoodi, Maulana Saeed Mohammad Qadri, Hafiz Kifayat Hussain, Maulana Ahmad Ali, Molvi Ghulam Din and Maulana Mahmood Ali were present

✓ The Deputy Commissioner, addressing the gathering, sought the assistance of the Ulema and the Molvis pointing out that in this regard they could be of great help in raising the standard of morals in the town. He said the incidence of crime to a great extent depended upon the degree of morality obtaining at a place.

In regard to the Ahrar-Ahmadi controversy, the Deputy Commissioner clarified the implication of Section 144 Cr.P.C. told them that it was in no way meant or intended to control the congregations in the mosques or the expressions of one's faith regarding the "Masla Khatm-e-Nabowat" or the religious preachings and sermon inside or outside the mosque so long as this was done in a peaceful manner within the limits of the law.

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He told them that section 144 Cr. P.C. was meant for those persons or sections of persons who in the name of religion wanted to create a disturbance and breach of peace in the town. He requested them to dispel the misunderstanding if any from the minds of the public in this matter.-UPP.

DAWN 22-7-1952

APPENDIX NO.17.

DAULTANA WELCOMES AHRAR ASSURANCE

RESTRICTIONS TO BE REVISED.

LAHORE, July 21: Mian Mumtaz Saultana, Chief Minister of the Punjab, has welcomed the latest declaration of policy by the leaders of the Majlis-e-Ahrar, Punjab, and their assurance that they would give his Government full co-operation in the maintenance of law and order.

In a statement the Punjab Chief Minister says: "As they have rightly emphasised, it is not only the national but also the religious duty of the Muslim majority in Pakistan to guarantee full protection of life, property, honour and civil rights of every citizen of this country irrespective of her creed or cast.

"For some time past there has been restrictions in various districts of the Punjab on the holding of meetings or demonstrations by Ahrar workers. The sole object of the orders imposing these restrictions was the preservation of public peace and order in the Province.

"In view of the declaration made by the Ahrar leaders it does not seem necessary to continue the restrictions as far as members of the organisation are concerned. Instructions are therefore being issued to the district officers concerned to withdraw or suitably modify their orders under Section 144-CPC. App.

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CIVIL & MILITARY GAZETTE

22-7-1952.

APPENDIX NO. 18.

AGITATION INDIA PROMPTED

-Ahmadiya Chief

DISTINCTIVE LABEL TO BE GIVEN UP IF NECESSARY.

" I AM CONVINCED THAT THE SECRET HAND OF INDIA IS AT THE BACK OF THE PRESENT ANTI-AHMADYA AGITATION," DECLARED MIRZA BASHIR-UD-DIN MAHMUD AHMAD ON SUNDAY IN AN INTERVIEW WITH THE LONDON DAILY MAIL.

HE HAD POSITIVE PROOF IN HIS POSSESSION AND WOULD BE PREPARED TO PUT IT BEFORE THE PROPER AUTHORITIES AT THE PROPER TIME, HE ADDED.

In the event of the authoritative body in Pakistan declaring his community a minority, he would have no hesitation in issuing a mandate to his followers to drop the label of Ahmadi and call themselves Muslims, the Ahmadya leader declared.

Sixty-three year old head of the Qadiani branch of the Ahmadya community, Mirza Bashir-ud-Din Mahmud Ahmad, in the course of an exclusive interview with Mian Mohd. Shafi of the Daily Mail categorically denied the allegation that he was planning a coup d'etat to seize political power in Pakistan.

He said: "Ahmadyat is not a political theory. Ours is a religious movement. With the present tension between Ahmadyas and non-Ahmadyas only a mad man can think of seizing political power for Ahmadis".

He added: "Even if, for the sake of argument, the tiny Ahmadya minority succeeds in getting into the seat of authority by force, it should be prepared to be liquidated the

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very next day at the hands of the bitterly hostile non-Ahmadis".

Question: In case of a conflict between you and the Government, is it correct to presume that Ahmadis in Government service would owe their first loyalty to you?

Answer: "Loyalty to the Government of the day is an article of faith with us. The moment I entered into such conflict which will put to the test the loyalty of Ahmadis in Government service I should be ready to be thrown out of my present position of being the Khalifa". Continuing he he said: "We shall never do anything unconstitutional against the Government of the country established by law".

Referring to the country-wide agitation for declaring Ahmadis a minority community, Mirza Sahib said: "I dislike it, not because it is going to do any harm to us, but because it will bring a bad name to Islam". Explaining he added: "We are an internationally-growing community and because of our missionary work we bring lot of kudos to Islam and Muslims. If we are branded a minority community separate from the rest of Muslims, our missionary activities abroad will not be interpreted as an effort on behalf of the Muslim people as a whole but as the work of a distinct religious community. This will also create an unbridgeable gulf between the Ahmadis and orthodox Muslims".

The shrewd religious leader then posed a question: "What will be the delimiting lines of the proposed Ahmadya minority community?" He said that in the event of the authoritative body in Pakistan declaring it as a minority community, he would have no hesitation in issuing a mandate to his followers to drop the label of Ahmadi and call themselves Muslims only.

He said: "The nomenclature of Ahmadi is not a mandatory provision in our religious books. It was only

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xxxx xxxx for the sake of showing that the founder had asked his followers to declare themselves as Ahmadis in and during the census operations in his lifetime".

Question: "Suppose the Government declare your Anjuman a political organisation and then bans it, what will be your attitude?" He promptly said: "I will change the name of the Anjuman, but never come into conflict with the Government".

On being asked whether in view of the inter-sectarian conflict on religious issues, he would advocate the establishment of a complete religious freedom. Islamic State in Pakistan, he said: "In an Islamic State there is complete religious freedom. Islam expects even non-Muslims to live up to their religious ideals".

He then emphatically said "I am convinced that the secret hand of India is at the back of the present anti-Ahmadiya agitation". He had positive proof in his possession and would be prepared to put it before the proper authorities at the proper time.

Question: "Would you like that a convention of Ulama of Islam from all over the world be held to adjudicate upon the issue whether Ahmadis be declared outside the pale of Islam"?

Answer: "Yes provided we are made a party to the proposed convention".

Question: "Suppose by a majority vote you are declared on doctrinal basis to be non-Muslims. Will you even then persist in claiming that you are Muslims."

Answer: "We will still continue to be attached to the universal brotherhood of Islam".

A meeting of the Working Committee of the Punjab Provincial Muslim League was held at Lahore on the 25th of July 1952 at 5-0 P.M. under the Chairmanship of the President of the Punjab Provincial Muslim League, Mian Mumtaz Muhammad Khan Daultana.

The main agenda before the Working Committee was to fix a programme for the deliberations of the forthcoming session of the Punjab Provincial Muslim League Council to be held on the 26th and 27th of July, 1952, and to attach priorities to the various resolutions which had been submitted by the members of the Muslim League Council for the consideration of the Council. It was decided to give priority to resolutions on the following subjects:

1. Kashmir.
2. Food.
3. Khatm-i-Nubuwwat.
4. Reforms in the Administration.
5. Maintenance of Peace and Order in the Province.
6. Settlement of Urban refugees.
7. Fight against unemployment and promotion of the interests of labour.
8. Rehabilitation of the families of Muslim League workers who had suffered during the partition.

The subjects which would come under discussion during the consideration of the eight resolutions, which were selected, would cover 90 percent of the individual resolutions submitted for consideration by members of the Muslim League Council. The Working Committee also decided on the action that should be taken on resolutions dealing with local subjects and topics which it may not be possible for the Council to consider during its forthcoming session.

5. Maintenance of Peace and Order in the Province.
6. Settlement of Urban refugees.

7. Fight against unemployment and promotion of the interests of labour.

Council on the 26th of July at 5-0 p.m. various reports by the office bearers of the Muslim League will be submitted. The second session on the 27th at 8-0 and the third session at 4-0 p.m. would be reserved for consideration of the resolutions. It was also decided that as certain matters of organisational importance, which only concern the Muslim League organisation as such, have to be discussed by the Council, the third session of the Council on the afternoon of the 27th will convert itself into a secret session at 7-0 p.m. and consider these matters.

The working Committee expresses its deep sorrow at the unfortunate firing at Multan on the 19th of July 1952 when six lives were lost.

The working Committee welcomed the right and prompt step taken by the Government to Institute a judicial enquiry at the highest level presided over by the Hon'ble Mr. Justice Kayani, to enquire into all the aspects of this tragic happening. The working Committee expects every member of the Muslim League in Multan to cooperate fully with the proceedings of this enquiry.

The Working Committee expresses its satisfaction at the happy manner in which the dangerous Shis-Sunni tension at Basti Bakhtawar was relieved through the intervention of the Honourable Sardar Abdul Hamid Dasti and the Honourable Syed Ali Hussain Shah Gardezi.

The Working Committee considered the situation arising out of the happenings in village Mochiwala of Jhang District where a police officer was killed and where as a result certain serious atrocities by the Police have been alleged. As the matter is at present subjudice both before the High Court and the relevant District Criminal Court, no further action could be taken at this stage.

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APPENDIX NO. 20.
THE CIVIL & MILITARY GAZETTE.
DATED 28-7-1952.

DAULTANA'S LEAD.

Mian Mumtaz Muhammad Khan Daultana's public utterances always make inspiring reading. His address to the Provincial League Council last Saturday breathed the same spirit of constructive statesmanship. Warning the nation against the dangers of intolerance and sectarian bitterness, he rightly reminded that Pakistan was built on the rock of unity and in unity lay the secret of her tiding over many of her problems so far. To disrupt that unity was to strike at the very roots of Pakistan. His firm and sober stand on Khatm-i-Nabuwat resolution, refusing to be swayed by sentiment to the detriment of the country's larger interests was reminiscent of the Qaid-e-Azam's unwavering determination where principles were involved, and will constitute a land-mark in the history of Pakistan's leadership. His deprecation of the tendency in a section to black out or belittle Government's achievements and paint a most gloomy picture, thereby creating discontent and dismay, was quite well-merited. To criticise where criticism is due is necessary for the healthy growth of democracy. But of late a deliberate campaign seems to have been launched to paint the Government in the darkest possible colour. The League President rightly cautioned the people against this whispering campaign which was a form of sabotage. With all its defects-and they are undoubtedly many-the Government has some solid achievements to its credit. To show only the dark side is not only unfair; it undermines confidence in the Government which is the surest way to disruption. Public opinion should discourage such one-sided dark picture. Another great evil which has crept into our body-politic is the tendency to expect the Government to do everything for us. This shifting of the centre of activity from the people to the Government is fundamentally wrong and has resulted in paralysing the nation. It is not enough, however, to issue a warning against this tendency

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the Muslim League must set an example of self-help and self-effort which is becoming gradually extinct. The League President seems to be quite alive to the fact that the Muslim League is not playing the role it should, in the building up of Pakistan. He rightly reminded the organisation that its proper function was to supply the moral backbone of the nation. Since the nation's leadership is vested in the Muslim League, it must rise to the occasion and give the country a healthy lead in every sphere of life. An average Leaguer, however, values his position as a stepping-stone to power and influence and no more. His proper role as was emphasised by Mian Daultana, should be that of a nation-builder in his own sphere and he should set the moral tone of society. This remains to be a much-needed reform in the League itself. A pure healthy League, imbued with the highest ideals is the only guarantee of Pakistan's future. As pointed out in our yesterday's issue, the right kind of leadership is just now the greatest need of every Muslim country, including Pakistan. It is up to the League to supply that leadership by becoming a nerve-centre of a new healthy life in the Province. We hope the good things said in the Address will not be confined to the paper on which it was written but will guide the working of the Leaguers' day-to-day life and dealings.

APPENDIX NO.21.

DAWN
DATED 27-7-1952.

DAULTANA ADDRESSED PUNJAB LEAGUE COUNCIL.

OUTLINES POLITICAL SITUATION.

LAHORE, July 26: The Punjab Muslim League Chief, Mian Mumtaz Mohammad Khan Daultana, presented today to the Provincial Muslim League Council an exhaustive report on the political situation in the Punjab outlining in great detail the functioning, achievements and the future objectives of the Muslim League.

In the course of his 15,000-word report, the Punjab League Chief referred to the Ahrar-Ahmadia controversy and declared "all of us have very clear and definite views on the subject and can have no sympathy with the practices and principles of the Ahmadis. But the correct way to expose an error, to preach a doctrine, to propagate a truth, is not to invite the forces of lawlessness and by taking the law in one's own hands for it defeats the very basis on which civilised society is based".

He, however, warned against the growth of sectionalism and said that if the public opinion was not mobilised against its excesses he apprehended a "vast conflagration" which might strike at the very roots of Pakistan.

All the time the League Council was in session, the Ahrar workers were shouting anti-Ahmadi slogans outside the League Office.

Dwelling on the relationship between the Province and the Centre. The Punjab League Chief said: "The real leadership of our party is the Pakistan Muslim League which also means today the Central Government of Pakistan. It is our duty to place our views before them to seek their assis-

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tance in our difficulties, but there must be at no stage any doubt of our complete loyalty and allegiance to them. They are our representatives and we must give them a strength and a support that permits them to order the destinies of the nation with calm, self-confidence and the complete assurance of our solidarity behind them".

Referring to the future constitution of Pakistan, Mr.Daultana said: "It is a matter of happiness and deep satisfaction for us that under the able guidance of our President, Khwaja Nazimuddin, there is every indication that not only will our constitution be completed at an early date but that it will be a true Islamic constitution in approach and spirit".

The Council, which met after nine months, was attended by 260 out of 450 members. Tomorrow, resolutions will be considered on the "Khatm-e-Nabuwat controversy", food, Kashmir and other matters.

In his report to the Council, Mumtaz Daultana also reviewed working of the Muslim League Ministry and organisation in the province. About the future, he said, the Muslim League must specially concentrate on complete implementation of the agrarian reforms, help for the Government's food procurement drive and the grow more food campaign.-APP.

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APPENDIX NO.22.

REPORT
ON
THE PUNJAB PROVINCIAL MUSLIM LEAGUE PRESENTED TO
THE SESSION OF COUNCIL OF THE PUNJAB MUSLIM LEAGUE HELD
IN LAHORE ON JULY 26 AND 27, 1952.

By
The Hon'ble Mian Mumtaz Muhammad Khan Daultana, President,
Punjab Muslim League.

Pakistan faces many enemies. They can only be overcome if all the people of Pakistan stand united. But already those who wish us ill are trying to disrupt that unity. There is no greater danger to Pakistan than that a spirit of intolerance and a passion of mutual hostility should begin to poison the civic relations of our people.

I will refer pointedly to the recent controversy between Ahrars and Ahmadis. The religious aspect does not directly concern us. All of us have very clear and definite views on the subject and can have no sympathy with the practices and principles of the Ahmadis. But the correct way to expose an error, to preach a doctrine, to propagate a truth is not to invite the forces of lawlessness and by taking the law in ones own hand, defeat the very basis on which civilized society is based.

I wish to make it clear that the Government never did and never will intend to interfere in any way with the preaching of religion or the sanctity of the mosques. But the Government did and does intend to prevent every breach of the peace, every threat of conflict between the citizens of the state, every preaching of hatred which is an instigation to violence.

Various efforts have been made in the past few days to confuse the issue before the people, to misinterpret the attitude of the Government. We have been accused of being pro-Ahmadis, of interfering with the religious observances

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of Muslims, of stifling a constitutional demand. Repeated announcements of Government policy have made it clear that these mischievous lies are being broadcast for an ulterior motive. Our one concern is to maintain the peace of the land and that we will do at all cost.

But one warning must be given. If public opinion is not mobilised against the excesses of sectionalism, if the true political dangers of the situation are not fully laid before the people, then I do not merely apprehend the small conflicts that we have hitherto faced and which we can easily check, but a vast conflagration which will strike at the very roots of Pakistan. If once the spirit of intolerance is aroused; if once sect rises against sect and opponent draws blood to convince an opponent; then we shall become the laughing stock of the world who respects us to-day because we have built a nation on the rock of unity.

APPENDIX NC.23

CIVIL & MILITARY GAZETTE

DATED 28-7-1952.

Ahrar-Ahmadi Controversy

'DECLARE MINORITY'

DEMAND FAILS

-:-

Daultana's firm stand in League Council.

AFTER A 180-MINUTE BATTLE OVER THE DEMAND BY A SECTION OF THE PEOPLE THAT AHMADIS BE DECLARED A NON-MUSLIM MINORITY, IN THE COURSE OF WHICH THE PUNJAB LEAGUE CHIEF, MIAN MUMTAZ MUHAMMAD KHAN DAULTANA; THREATENED TO RESIGN IF THE ORGANISATION FAILED TO OFFER DISPASSIONATE CONSIDERATION TO THE CONSTITUTIONAL NATURE OF THE ISSUE. THE PROVINCIAL LEAGUE COUNCIL DECIDED AGAINST ITS DECLARING AHMADIS OUTSIDE THE PALE OF ISLAM.

By 272 votes to eight, the Council ruled that a "decision upon this constitutional issue be left to the Pakistan Muslim League leadership and the mature vision of the members of the Constituent Assembly".

Through a resolution adopted in this regard, the Council unconditionally endorsed the principle that it was both the democratic and religious duty of Pakistan Muslims to safeguard the life, property, honour and all other rights of every citizen of the country, irrespective of his religion, race and sex.

The Council ordained every Leaguer, meanwhile, to make a ceaseless endeavour towards establishing an atmosphere of peace and sobriety without which problems of fundamental constitutional character will continue to defy all attempts at solving them.

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The decision of the League Council came as a great surprise to everyone, including the members of the Council, as immediately before the passing of the resolution an overwhelming majority of the Councillors was assessed to be in favour of pronouncing a definite and positive verdict on the issue.

The quelling down of a vociferous and uncompromising opposition following a 75-minute speech of Mian Mumtaz Daultana was regarded as the Provincial League chief's one of the greatest feats of leadership in the recent political history of the Punjab.

The otherwise very generous and adaptable Mian Mumtaz adopted a stern attitude and gave a warning to the Councillors that he might adjourn the session and abstain from summoning it for two years, when Mr. Asghar Bhatti, the 36-year-old liberal minded leader of independent opinion in the Council, was hooted by the reactionary section of the House on his challenging the competence of the Muslim League to declare non-Muslim anyone who professed to be a Muslim.

Speaking on the resolution moved by Syed Mustafa Shah Gilani, which was, ultimately, passed by the League Council, Mian Mumtaz Muhammad Khan Daultana said that it would be dishonest on his part that, impressed by the four-day Anti-Ahmadia processions and meetings, he should announce to have arrived at some conclusion on the political aspect of the issue, while actually, he had not.

The provincial league leader emphasised that it would be defying the natural course of political history that a majority community should demand a section of the people to be declared a minority. It was always a minority which

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demanded recognition of its minority status with a view to securing safeguards, he asserted.

Appealing to Pakistan Muslims to view their problems, particularly the one under discussion, in the context of international situation, the Mian said that already Indian propaganda sought to dub them as unfair to minorities and the anti-Ahmadia campaign would only help substantiate the charge of their being intolerant towards smaller sections of the people.

He said that it was an established convention that if anybody called himself to be a Christian, Hindu or Sikh he was taken to be as such, "My saying that a certain person is not a Muslim will in no way turn him out of the pale of Islam".

Taking of practical implications on the question of declaring Ahmadis a non-Muslim minority, Mian Mumtaz Daultana asked that should they be treated as a minority community in census operations against their will and they ceased to call themselves Ahmadis, how would everyone of them be spotted out?

A plan for separating Ahmadis from Muslims would, naturally, necessitate constitution of a board with powers to declare people Muslims and non-Muslims and if this board with unpredictable manner of operation declared about 40 per cent of them non-Muslims then where would they stand, -he asked.

The Mian said that there lay another danger in declaring Ahmadis a non-Muslim minority. Following this step he added, if they gave up proclaiming themselves to be Ahmadis and continued mixing up with Muslims, they would be able to do a great mischief, within the Muslim ranks.

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Mian Mumtaz Daultana said that some people argued that because Ahmadis had opposed the formation of Pakistan, they must be declared a minority. "I would put to you, should we not declare Ahl-e-Akbar a minority on the same grounds", he said. Pakistan had tolerance enough to accommodate even its erstwhile sworn enemies, the League chief pointed out.

He quoted the instance of Iran where the greatest inconvenience being experienced by the Government and the people alike was how to trace out Bahais, who, after the imposition of similar restrictions, had given up calling themselves Bahais and got mixed with Muslims, with the result that their mischief and intrigues could not be properly watched and they successfully sabotaged the nation.

Mian Mumtaz Daultana said as regards Khatm-i-Nabuwwat no one had expressed a diverse opinion.

"Khatm-i-Nabuwwat is an essential requirement of Islam and we subscribe to this belief in our individual capacities".

SOLUTION DIFFICULT.

Stressing his view-point for leaving the decision about the constitutional aspect of the case to the Central body of the League whose every decision was binding on the Provincial League, the League chief said: "I support the second part of the resolution because in spite of its being very clear and unequivocal you are not competent to-day to find out a solution of this intricate problem. However excited your sentiments you have not been able to realise that there are many other very important aspects of this issue"

It is only then when you have fully pondered over the matter that you have a right to apprise your parent body with your views. I am confident that we can take a decision

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with a cool heart no matter how excited our sentiments may be at the moment". Mian Mumtaz said.

"We must give a chance to our parent body to contemplate over the issue and take a decision. We are amply represented on the Central League", Mian Mumtaz Muhammad Khan Daultana emphatically stressed.

Mian Mumtaz Daultana made an impassioned appeal to the Leaguers for safeguarding every thing of the Ahmadis even if each one of them had to lay his life for this cause and said: "It is our duty that as long as we give them the right of citizenship we must give them complete protection of their rights".

"The assassination of even one Ahmadi would constitute an evidence of our administrative inefficiency", he told them.

Referring to a recent agitation by some students at Wazirabad against an Ahmadi teacher, which resulted in the latter's immediate removal from service, Mian Mumtaz Daultana said that this issue was not of a religious character but one involving the citizenship right of the people.

He appealed to the Ahrars not to agitate in Lahore but to Wazirabad and see for themselves how human values were being thrown over board.

Among others who spoke in favour of the resolution were Mr. Khalid Qureshi, Mehar Muhammad Sadiq, Mr. Abdur Rehman and Mr. Habib Ullah Khan. Those who opposed it included, Sheikh Zafar Hussain, Sheikh Manzur Ahmad and Maulvi Islem-ud-Din.

RESOLUTION.

The following is the text of the resolution: The Council of the Punjab Muslim League is fully conscious of

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the truth that khatm-i-Nabuwwat is one those fundamental articles of the Islamic faith, which have knit together Muslims of the world into a spiritual brotherhood and provided a strong basis for the unity and solidarity of the Muslim nation in Pakistan. This truth carries with it the obvious and natural implication that non-subscribers to the doctrine of Khatm-i-Nabuwwat have a fundamental difference with what Islam stands for in the domain of religious belief.

On the basis of this position, about which there is or can be no dispute, a proposal, which pertains to the domain of political action and constitutional legislation, has been put forward, namely, that the Ahmadis who have a fundamental difference of attitude on a question of faith, should be classed as a non-Muslim minority in the constitution of Pakistan. In the opinion of the Council the proposal reflects to a certain extent the reaction of Muslims to the strong separatist tendencies which the Ahmadis have themselves at times shown out not only in religious matters, but also in the sphere of civic and social life.

The proposal, however, involves grave and important issues of a constitutional and legal nature which will affect the privileges and obligation of citizens of Pakistan and will determine the nature of the constitutional set-up which is to be proposed for Pakistan. Such matters naturally require deep and careful consideration in a spirit of calm unprejudiced deliberation unaffected by emotionalism or agitation. The Council of the Punjab Muslim League, is, therefore, of the opinion that the constitutional issue involved may, with the fullest confidence, be left to the mature judgment of the leadership of the Pakistan Muslim League and the members of the Pakistan Constituent Assembly. In the meantime every member of the Muslim League

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organisation must endeavour to create an atmosphere of calmness and serenity in which alone deliberated decisions affecting fundamental constitutional policy can be taken.

At the same time this Council affirms its unwavering adherence to the principle that it is not only a democratic but also a religious duty of Muslims of Pakistan to protect as their own life, property, honour and all civic rights of every citizen of State, irrespective of his or her caste or creed. This Council expects the Muslim League Ministry in the Punjab to uphold the principle in all circumstances.

APPENDIX NO. 24.

THE CIVIL & MILITARY GAZETTE.

DATED THE 28TH JULY 52.

MOB ATTACK AT LEAGUE OFFICE.

The week-old-Daultana-Ahrar gentleman's agreement comprising a promise by the latter to co-operate in the maintenance of law and order in the province and by the former to release Ahrar leaders and lift Section 144 Cr.P. ban on meetings and processions, was broken on Sunday evening when a violent mob brickbated the cars of the League councillors leaving the Punjab Muslim League office.

This rowdyism resulted in head injuries to the woman M.L.A., Begum G.A.Khan, who was removed to the Mayo Hospital in an unconscious state, but later regained consciousness. About a dozen police constables and League Razakars were among those who also received minor injuries.

About 100 persons were arrested in this connection as a result of four-hour operations by the police.

The trouble started at about 6-30 p.m. and the police had to use tear gas thrice to disperse the mob. A mild lathi charge is also reported to have been made. The League Council was in session when the mob arrived on the scene and after a few minutes when the Councillors came out of the meeting bricks were showered indiscriminately.

The car of the Punjab Agriculture Minister, Sufi Abdul Hamid, is said to be among the 30 that were badly damaged.

The situation continued to be tense till late on Sunday night but the police, who were in complete control of the situation, seemed determined to deal with this outbreak of lawlessness with a firm hand.

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The District Magistrate and the Senior Superintendent, Police, reached the scene shortly afterwards.

Magistrates had been put on duty to control various areas of the city and the Punjab Constabulary was called in. Strong police pickets at short distances were posted at important places in the city and police officers continued a non-stop patrol on jeeps.

APPENDIX NO.25.

THE CIVIL & MILITARY GAZETTE.

DATED 29-7-1952.

Ahmadiya Chief on Daultana's stand in League Council

Mirza Bashiruddin Mahmud Ahmad, Head of the Ahmedya community, in a Press statement says: "I have just read the report of the Punjab Muslim League Council meeting on Sunday, I may differ with some of the words of the resolution about Ahrar-Ahmadya controversy but one thing has come out of the debate on his resolution very prominently that is one man-the Chief Minister, Mian Muntaz Muhammad Khan Daultana-has been found in political Punjab who can stand for his convictions even against a great number of his friends.

"This is a very wholesome sign and if more men of his calibre come out of all ranks of Muslims, Punjab is saved and Pakistan must be considered out of danger.

May God help Muslims of Pakistan to be brave and honest towards God, honest towards the Holy Prophet and honest towards our country and may He bless them".

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APPENDIX NO:26!

DAWN DATED 30-7-1952 Wednesday.

Founded by Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah, Karachi.

Editor: Altaf Husain.

PHOTO

134 arrested so far in Lahore

CITY NORMAL

From Dawn Special Representative.

LAHORE, July 29: The Mall resumed its usual appearance today as armed Punjab constabulary pickets were withdrawn. Rest of the city, however, continued to be -patrolled by the constabulary and the police.

The number of persons arrested for the McLeod Chowk rowdyism mounted to 134 today.

No incident of violation of Section 144 has been reported.

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THE CIVIL & MILITARY GAZETTE.

DATED 6TH AUGUST,
1952.

"NO BREACH OF PEACE IN PUNJAB TO BE
TOLERATED"

Increasing production real agricul-
tural problem, says Daultana.

KARACHI, Aug. 5 (APP).—Mian Mumtaz Muhammad Khan Daultana, Chief Minister of the Punjab, said here to-day that the Punjab Government would not tolerate any breach of peace in the province.

In an interview with the APP here, he said that the forces of law and order in the province were alive to the situation and there was no cause of anxiety.

Referring to the Ahrar-Ahmadiya controversy, he said that he had made it clear to the Ahrars that the Government would not brook violation of law. The Ahrars had given him an assurance that they would respect law and he was glad that they had followed it with their action.

The Punjab Chief Minister said that the agrarian reforms had been successfully introduced in the province and all sections of the rural population had settled down to these measures. He, however, added that constant vigilance on the part of the administrative machinery and sustained effort by the Muslim League would be required before these measures could become an accepted part of the economy of the province.

Mian Mumtaz Daultana said that the Punjab Muslim League Government was considering the problem of relief to be given to landless agricultural labour and a committee which had been set up for this purpose, had not yet submitted its report. The Government would take its decision in the light of the report when submitted, he said.

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He said that there were still many things to be done in the agricultural field of the province. The agrarian reforms were mainly intended at readjustment of relations between the landlord and the tenant, but the real problem was of increasing production by introducing better implements and popularising new methods.

He said that the best solution to achieve this and was large-scale introduction of voluntary co-operative farming with mechanised agriculture, because this would not shake the agricultural economy to its foundations. For this, he maintained, peasants would have to be taken into confidence and convinced of its advantages and benefits.

Referring to the menace of waterlogging in the Punjab Mian Mumtaz Daultana said that the Government had already passed a legislative measure, giving more powers to a Central authority to undertake this task. They were doing everything to check this menace and a great deal of success had already been achieved.

He stated that lack of electric energy was the main handicap in making a full-scale effort. He also hoped that when the Punjab Government undertakes a full-scale effort, there would be no reluctance on the part of the Central Government in providing adequate funds for this purpose because of the magnitude and all-Pakistan importance of the problem.

Mian Mumtaz Daultana revealed that the present financial stringency in the country, which was the product of international conditions, was producing its effect on the Punjab Budget and some development plans might be postponed or delayed. He, however, hoped that the main development plans would not be affected.

Mian Mumtaz Daultana disclosed that elections to local bodies in the Punjab would be held in October and the

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necessary preparatory work had been completed. The Muslim League had not yet decided its attitude towards the question of participation in the elections. A decision by the Punjab Muslim League Parliamentary Board would be taken in the near future, he said.

Referring to the food situation in the province, he said that with the present food policy of the Central Government and the security provided by the recent imports of food grains, there was no danger of dearth of foodstuffs in the province during the year. The situation, however, would demand determined vigilance. The Punjab Government, would continue striving for maximising procurement, which might even mean greater hardship for the grower.

Mian Mumtaz Daultana said that there was an undoubted shortage of wheat in the Punjab and the province would need imported wheat.

LEAGUE'S ROLE

Mian Mumtaz Daultana, who is also the Punjab League Chief, claimed that the Muslim League was a living organisation in the province and was playing its due role in its political life.

He said that the liaison between the administration and the Muslim League had been established through Rif Aama committees, which had become a useful institution in the province. The recommendations of the committees, which comprised of Muslim League representatives, were always given great deal of importance and implemented as far as possible.

Referring to the problem of ensuring free and fair elections in the Muslim League organisation, he said that they had tried in the Punjab a method by appointing election tribunals, which had proved successful. He, however, said that if electoral rolls of the Muslim League were prepared

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well before elections and a machinery for their check and counter-check was provided, better results could be expected. He hoped that this problem would receive serious attention and some such formula, whereby free elections could be held in the organisation, would be evolved.

Mian Mumtaz Daultana is here in connection with the deliberations of the Basic Principles Committee of the Pakistan Constituent Assembly. He is expected to leave for Lahore on August 10.

"CIVIL & MILITARY GAZETTE"

17-8-1952.

Govt. Warns Ministers against sectarianism.

KARACHI, Aug. 16: The Government of Pakistan have warned Federal and Provincial Ministers and others that the use of their official position to propagate any sectarian creed will bring drastic action against them.

A communique issued in this connection by the Pakistan Government on Thursday says; "The Government of Pakistan have decided that no member of any provincial or Federal Council of ministers should use his official position in propagating any sectarian creed among those persons who come in contact with him. Every Governor is being asked to communicate this decision to all the Ministers concerned, and it is hoped that no Minister will in future depart from this rule.

"The Government of Pakistan have received frequent complaints that certain officials of the Central and provincial Governments belonging to a particular sect abuse their official position in propagating their sectarian creed among their subordinates and other persons who come in contact with them in their official capacity. The Government take a serious view of this matter and have accordingly decided to stop this undesirable activity at once and to prohibit in future the propagation of any sectarian creed in this objectionable manner.

"The Government Service Conduct Rules are being amended in this behalf.

"The Government wish to make it known that drastic action will be taken against any person who offends against this rule, irrespective of the sect to which he may belong. The Provincial and State Governments in Pakistan have also been asked to take similar action".

APPENDIX NO.33

DAWN

DATED 12TH OCT. 1952.

FOUNDED BY QUAID-I-AZAM MOHAMMAD ALI JINNAH
KARACHI

SUNDAY, OCTOBER, 12, 1952, 21 Muharram, 1372
Editor: Altaf Husain.

NAZIMUDDIN RE-ELECTED PML CHIEF

YUSUF HAROON VOTED VICE-PRESIDENT

PUNJAB MLA BECOMES GENERAL-SECRETARY

Unanimous decisions at Dacca Session

From Dawn Dacca Correspondent

DACCA, OCT 11: An assurance that he will discharge his duty honestly, faithfully and impartially was given by Al-Haj Khwaja Nazimuddin following his unanimous re-election as President of the Pakistan Muslim League when the Pakistan Muslim League council began its session here this afternoon at the historic massive curzon hall.

Khwaja Nazimuddin who was thanking members of the Council for the honour done him, added that he always submitted himself to the discipline of the muslim league. He emphasised the need of greater unity and discipline among the muslims.

"I ask you for your co-operation in the discharge of the onerous task, facing me today", the President said.

Khwaja Nazimuddin's name was proposed by the Punjab Chief Minister, Mian Mumtaz Daultana and seconded by Khan Abdul Qayyum Khan and Mr. Nurul Amin, Chief Ministers NWFP and East Pakistan respectively. The ex-Chief minister of Sind, Mr. M.A. Khuhro, also joined them. No other name was proposed. The decision was received with loud cheers.

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Mr. Yusuf Haroon whose name was proposed by the veteran Muslim League leader and grand old man of East Pakistan, Maulana Mohammad Akram Khan, was unanimously elected as Vice-President of the Pakistan Muslim League. Among those seconding the proposal included the Central Industries Minister, Sardar Abdur Rab Nishtar.

Chaudhry Salahuddin from the Punjab was elected as General Secretary.

Besides re-election of Mr. Ghyasuddin Pathan as Joint Secretary, the Council elected one more Joint Secretary, Mr. Akbar Shah, a prominent delegate from the Frontier Province.

Makhdumul Mulk Miran Shah from Bahawalpur was elected as Treasurer. His name was proposed by the Minister for the Interior, Mr. Mushtaq Ahmad Gurmani.

SESSION

The League Council session began amidst great enthusiasm. The spacious Curzon Hall was packed to suffocation. A number of ladies were also present. Among distinguished visitors, Mr. Altaf Husain, Malik Tajuddin and Mr. Bokhari, Controller, Broadcasting, preferred to take their seats in the Press enclosure.

Following recitation from the Holy Quran, Poet Ghulam Mustafa read out a Bangali poem welcoming delegates and reminding them of glorious traditions and services of Muslims of East Pakistan to the cause of Islam and the Muslim League.

Before the election of office-bearers, a delegate raising a point of order, said that the League Council should be adjourned without transacting any business, since it was not properly constituted. He added that it "did not consist of 20 representatives of Baluchistan and none was representing Karachi".

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He further held that the representation of East Pakistan Provincial Muslim League on the Council was "not quite constitutional since the members had not paid their primary membership fee after their enrolment in 1950 and as such they ceased to be members".

The objections were ruled out by the President on the ground that it was nowhere provided that all units of the Muslim League must be in the Council. He said that howsoever desirable and necessary it may be, Karachi was not yet recognised as a Muslim League unit. He further maintained that non-payment of the membership fee did not mean that one ceased to be a member. There was no such provisions, he added.

"APP" adds: After the election of the office-bearers the President asked the House to consider certain amendments in the constitution of Pakistan Muslim League, but as a large number of members said that they had not yet received copies of the amendments and wanted time to study the same, the meeting was adjourned till 9 a.m. tomorrow.

The Working Committee of the Pakistan Muslim League held 5-hour sitting here this morning at Burdwan House under the presidentship of Khwaja Nazimuddin.

The Committee considered certain amendments to the constitution of the Pakistan Muslim League.

The Committee considered certain amendments to the constitution of the Pakistan Muslim League.

Late in the evening the Working Committee met at the residence of the Provincial League President Mr. Nurul Amin. The meeting was presided over by Khwaja Nazimuddin. The newly-elected office-bearer including the members of the former Working Committee were present

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at the meeting.

The Committee, it is understood, discussed matters relating to the draft constitution of the Pakistan Muslim League.

Contrary to weather forecasts. Monsoon clouds lifted this morning and the last few days' rains gave place to bright sunshine this morning at Dacca, thus making the task of the Reception Committee easier for the holding of the Pakistan Muslim League convention.

The large pandal which was constructed for holding the convention to accommodate about two lakhs of people, had been damaged by the monsoonish weather of the last few days and heavy rains.

Alternative arrangements had also been made for holding the League Council session in the Curzon Hall in case of bad weather which was fair this morning.

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APPENDIX NO.35.

CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY OF PAKISTAN.

NOTICE LIST OF MOTION

Notice of the following Motion was received on the 11th
November 1952.

Sl.No.	Name of member	Contents of notice	Remarks
1.	Mr.M.H.Gazder.	<p>This Assembly is of opinion that the Quadiani-Jamaat (Mraa Ghulam Ahmed of Quadian's followers) should be declared as a non-Muslim minority, as they consider all Muslims believing in the Holy Prophet Muhammad, may the blessings of Allah be upon him, as the last prophet, Kaffirs; and that no persons as/ professing Quadiani faith should be assigned key positions under the Government in any capacity as their religious leader has been advocating re-union of Pakistan with India.</p>	

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DATED 27-12-1953

DAULTANA'S VIEW ON FEDERATION

Recommends unitary form of Government

From Dawn Special Representative

LAHORE, Dec 26: "As far as my personal view is concerned, I am opposed to the idea of federation for Pakistan. I stand for a unitary system of Government in the country", declared the President of the Punjab Provincial Muslim League and Chief Minister of Punjab, Mian Mumtaz Daultana.

He disclosed that when he signed the Basic Principles Committee Report he also appended a note to the President of the Constituent Assembly stating his own viewpoint in explicit language.

Mian Mumtaz Daultana was addressing a public meeting here yesterday to celebrate Quaid-i-Azam's birthday anniversary. The Governor of the Punjab, Mr. Ibrahim Ismail Chundrigar, presided.

The Chief Minister said: "The Basic Principles Committee Report is a vital document for its contents will shape the Constitution of our homeland. I do not wish to say much about it except recommend the Report to your serious and cool thinking and remind you that some of the topmost brains from the national leadership have drafted it.

"As for my personal stand it has always been clear cut. I am opposed to the idea of federation for Pakistan. I never minced words on this count and always expressed my opinion in every council of my parent

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organisation".

Explaining his viewpoint Mian Mumtaz Daultana said: "Political pundits always described the demand for Pakistan as an absurdity. They had cogent arguments to support their verdict. But Pakistan came into being despite all the tenets of political science in the world poised against its very idea. This miracle occurred simply and only because there was unity of thought and sentiment behind this demand among the Muslims of all the provinces. That unity was the solitary sanction behind the birth of our homeland and that unity alone can sustain its existence and foster its growth in future.

"Now you cannot have unity in the air. You have got to imbue and embody it into the nations body-politic."

"For that reason", Mian Mumtaz Daultana continued "I oppose the idea of federation for Pakistan for it admits for the distinction of provinces and all that goes with them. In fact the idea of federation as envisaged for our country feeds provincialism. That is why I advocate the system of unitary Government for Pakistan for it represents and shall ensure embodiment of that unity of thought, sentiment and action in our national life which gave birth to our country and which alone can mother it".

MULLAISM CONDEMNED

Mian Mumtaz Daultana added that his voice in this matter was rather a lonely voice but he did not mind it.

Referring to "the scourge of Mullaism which has threatened our State from the first day", Mian Mumtaz Daultana said amidst applause: "Islam does not stand for any nonsense which resembles priesthood or Brahmanism.

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"In fact it is diametrically opposed to it. Islam advocates a society where there is no dictation from sanctified Mullas and wherein every adult Mussalman is as good and as much responsible follower of the faith as the other. I am confident that our people gifted with a robust commonsense would never brook Mullaism in any shape or form. "I trust we shall be never stampeded by the utterly unfounded fear of the Mullas or the Ulama into going in for morbid reactionaryism or obsolete theocracy.

"All that Islam expects of a truly Islamic State is that therein opportunities will be provided and an environment will be found for the realisation of the spiritual values of Islam:

Concluding his comments on the Basic Principles Committee Report, Mian Mumtaz Daultana appealed for constructive criticism of it and warned against degeneration of criticism into provincialism which, he pointed out, was the biggest internal threat to the insular tastes of the ruling present.

APP adds: Mian Daultana said yesterday that he had signed the Basic Principles committee Report subject to a note.

Later approached by the "APP" to indicate the nature of the note, the Chief Minister said that both he and the Punjab Development Minister, Syed Ali Hussain Shah Gardezi, while signing the Report, had submitted in a joint note that the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan should consider two points:

"1. That a unitary form of Government was the most suitable, efficient and beneficial" system of Government for Pakistan and (2) "That the composition and function of the Upper House of the proposed Central Legislature required re-consideration".

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DAWN.

APPENDIX NO. 37.

DATED 16-1-1953.

PUNJAB BACKS NAZIMUDDIN

PM CALLS FOR REALISM

FURTHER TALKS ON EPCR URGED

PMLC RESOLUTION.

From Dawn Special Representative.

LAHORE, Jan 15: The President of the Pakistan Muslim League, Khwaja Nazimuddin, told a requisitioned meeting of the Punjab Muslim League Council here today that it would not be wise to forget that there were two sides of a picture and that the other side of the EPC Report controversy, that is the absolute numerical majority of East Pakistan, could be a much more relevant factor if that Unit chose to be insistent on it.

This very important fact weighed with the Shaheed-Millat Liaquat Ali Khan when he withdrew the interim EPC Report two years ago, the Prime Minister said.

Besides Muslim League legislators of the province, who were invited to attend the extraordinary meeting of the Council, and seven Federal Ministers now at Lahore, Mr. Syed Hasan Mahmood, Chief Minister of Bahawalpur, and the President of Sind Muslim League, Mr. Mohammad Ayub Khuhro also attended.

PUNJAB'S VIEWPOINT

Four Councillors, including the General Secretary of Pakistan Muslim League Chaudhri Salahuddin, pleaded the Punjab's viewpoint which favoured the composition of the Lower House on population basis and the constitution of the Upper House on the basis of parity between various Units. It was also represented that both the Houses should have equal powers and the Federal Government should be

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responsible to both of them, the Upper one having half of the numerical strength of the Lower House.

Winding up the Punjab's viewpoint, the President of the Punjab Muslim League and Chief Minister of the Punjab, Mian Mumtaz Daultana, said that the Punjab's case was founded on the conception that a Federal system of Government should rightly ensure inter-dependence of the Units for that was the very essence of a Federation.

Addressing the President of the Pakistan Muslim League, Mian Mumtaz Daultana said: "You are our leader. The nation has full confidence in your leadership. Especially the Punjab retains the cherished memories of your personal interest and long standing association with her affairs and aspirations. It were you, Sir, whom the Quaid-i-Azam deputed to guide us when the Punjab went on war-path against Khizr regime. Before and after that on various occasions you have shown us the path in hours of stress and conflict.

"Today again when the Punjab is feeling unhappy over the BPC Report you have come to us. You have heard from all sectors of public opinion what the Punjab has to say and how she feels about the parity principle of BPC Report. I wish to add only this much that the reactions the Punjab are genuine. Mian Mumtaz Daultana concluded, "I reiterate that the Punjab has full faith in your loving care for her problems and as such we rest completely assured that our case would not go unheard".

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Expression of "full faith" in the personal leadership of Khwaja Nazimuddin in the context of Punjab's aspirations was also emphasised by other speakers in the meeting.

Replying to all the speeches, Prime Minister Khwaja Nazimuddin said that he was touched by reference to his person and felt obliged to the Council for that.

Amidst deafening applause he said: "Gentlemen, you may rest assured that the Punjab will not be forced to accept a constitution to which she may object genuinely and all your reasonable suggestions shall receive most sympathetic consideration from me".

The Prime Minister emphasised: "Our national composition contains certain peculiarities and an application of constitutional concepts from text-books will not serve our purpose satisfactorily. Some other nations, like the United States and Switzerland, have had peculiar demands of their national complexion and they all met them by concession and adjustments within national units.

"Since we are all agreed that there should be democracy in Pakistan, we have three known methods of constitutional framework through which democracy operates; that is Confederation, Federation and Unitary system.

"We are equally agreed that a Confederation will certainly lead to disintegration of the country and a Unitary system is simply impracticable. So only a Federal system of Government can be worked in our country.

DEMOCRACY AND ALL THAT GOES

WITH IT

"Essentially and basically democracy means rule by the number whether it is a Federal system or some other system. To meet some peculiar demands of national complexion you may compromise to some extent and only in form with this fundamental dictate of democracy. But you cannot ignore it

altogether unless you want to make a mockery of both democracy and the concept of a Federal system of Government. To quote just one very relevant instance, in the United States of America, where they have parity between the Units in the Upper House, there is a President with full executive powers and who is elected directly by the people. On the other hand, in Bharat, where the Upper House does not enjoy those powers which the Senate does in United States, the Government is responsible only to the House of the People composed on population basis and directly elected by the people".

The Prime Minister pointed out that such were the basic features of a truly democratic federal system which the Council would do well to keep in view.

LIAQUAT'S WISDOM

"He said that it were these very fundamental aspects of a truly democratic Federal system which weighed with the Shaheed-i-Millat Liaquat Ali Khan when two years back he withdrew the interim recommendations of BPC that went to render the numerically bigger Unit of East Pakistan a sufficiency all along. The Prime Minister said that even the present principle of parity as recommended in BPC Report went to make East Pakistan suffer the lion's share of the loss in numerical representation in order to provide weightage to smaller Units of West Pakistan.

The Prime Minister reminded the House that a picture had two sides and it was unwise to forget the other in a fit of self-righteousness over the one.

Concluding, the Prime Minister said amidst loud cheers

"I have been deeply touched by the measure of confidence which all shades of public opinion have reposed in me in the matter of satisfying the Punjab's genuine

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objections to certain aspects of BPC Report. Gentlemen, I take this opportunity of saying that I have an equally great measure of confidence in the healthy common sense and robust patriotism of the people of the Punjab, who may be confused momentarily but can never be misled into doing something which may irreparably harm to the national structure".

NISHTAR'S ELUCIDATIONS

After three and half hours' session in the morning the Council again met in the afternoon, when Sardar Abdur Rab Nishtar elucidated the Islamic aspects of the report and to meet the criticisms of the "Mullaism" nature of the proposed Boards of Ulema.

Both the meetings of the Council were held in camera and the Pressmen were not allowed in.

The Council also passed a resolution which authorised the Punjab Muslim League Working Committee to adopt a resolution in the light of today's discussions and negotiations with the High Command on that basis.

The resolution also urges the postponement of the consideration of the BPC Report by the Constituent Assembly on Jan 21.

It is learnt that the programme of several deputations scheduled to see the Prime Minister yesterday and today was cancelled, because it was felt that the deputationists had nothing to add to what had already been represented by the six deputationists.

Represented by the six deputations which saw Khwaja Nazimuddin on Jan 12 and 13.

The Prime Minister is expected to emplane for the Federal Capital tomorrow morning (Jan 16).

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THE RESOLUTION

"APP" ADDS: THE FOLLOWING IS THE FULL
TEXT OF THE RESOLUTION:

"The Council of the Punjab Provincial Muslim League places on record its appreciation of the action of the President of Pakistan Muslim League and his distinguished colleagues in the Pakistan Cabinet in coming to Lahore to acquaint themselves with the reactions of the Punjab in respect of the recently published report of the Basic Principles Committee and to associate representative public opinion of the province in their discussions and deliberations before a final decision on this report is arrived at.

PLEA FOR FURTHER TALKS

"Further, in view of the fundamental and far-reaching nature of the issues involved and in view of the opinion expressed with respect to certain aspects of the recommendations of the Basic Principles Committee Report by the representative deputation with whom the President and his colleagues have held consultations in Lahore, this Council directs its Working Committee to hold further deliberations "with the leaders of the Pakistan Muslim League so as to place before them the viewpoint of the Muslim League organisation in the Punjab".

"Finally, this Council is emphatically of the view that discussion of the report of the Basic Principles Committee in the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan should be postponed for a sufficient time to enable mature deliberations on all aspects of its recommendations.

HOPES FOR ACCORD

This Council is confident, that as a result of these deliberations, agreement on the fundamental principles of a federative constitution will be arrived at with the mutual and cordial co-operation of all the constituent parts of Pakistan".

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C & M.G. LAHORE, SUNDAY, MARCH, 1, 1953

AHRAR AGITATION ANTI-STATE
MOVEMENT UNDER CLOAK OF RELIGION

Punjab Government thorough agreement
with Centre ("C & M.G" report).

The Punjab Government endorsed every word of the Central Government's Press communique about the present Ahrar-engineered anti-Ahmadiya agitation and would fully support the Centre's policy to suppress any attempt at lawlessness. This was the substance of the statement made by Mr. Giasuddin Ahmad, Home Secretary to the Punjab Government at a special Press conference of Lahore newspaper editors, called yesterday for this express purpose.

The Central Government's communique carried in the "C&M.G.'s", yesterday's issue, it will be recalled declared:

"It is a matter of public knowledge that the Ahrars, before the creation of Pakistan, were the consistent and bitter opponents of the Muslim freedom movement and refused to join hands with those leaders and organisations that were striving for the attainment of Pakistan. Many of the Ahrar leaders joined and worked in close co-operation with the Congress and other bodies which were ranged against the Qaid-e-Azam in the struggle for freedom in pre-partition days. Nor have the Ahrars abandoned their disruptionist activities after Pakistan was established".

"There is reliable evidence to show the communique went on to say", that the Ahrars have not reconciled themselves to the establishment of Pakistan. Ahrar leaders, inspired and aided by enemies of Pakistan have taken every opportunity to create dissensions among Muslims and to undermine confidence in the stability of Pakistan.

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The present agitation is cleverly designed to disrupt Muslim solidarity and to do the utmost damage to the vital interest of the country by fomenting internecine dissensions under the cloak of a religious movement".

The Punjab Government, declared the Home Secretary, was in thorough agreement with this interpretation of the present anti-Ahmadiya agitation and would go all out to support the policy announced by the Central Govt. in this connection.

APPENDIX NO.40.

DAWN

DATED THE 5TH MARCH 1953.

LAHORE DSP SHOT DEAD:

CURFEW IN CITY

SIALKOT HANDED OVER TO ARMY

LAHORE, March 4: The situation in Lahore continues to be tense till late tonight. People shouted anti-Govt and anti-Ahmadi slogans from the house tops after curfew had been clamped in the city. Small batches of people defied the curfew order and took out processions in the Delhi and Lonari gates. Police had to resort to firing to disperse the defaulters. Certain casualties were reported but their number could not be ascertained.

An official source said that the post-curfew demonstrations were arranged by spreading a fake rumour that, certain police men had torn copies of the Holy Quran.

CURFEW

A nine and a half hour curfew has been imposed in Lahore from tonight with effect from 8-30 p.m. to 6 a.m. for a period of one week.

This followed an incident near Wazir Khan Mosque today where the DSP Lahore City, Syed Firdous Khan, was mobbed and shot dead by a hostile crowd of agitators and one Head Constable and two constables were seriously injured.

A Press note issued today said: Last night's public meeting speeches in the Wazir Khan Mosque in which aggravated accounts of incidents at Sialkot were narrated in an exaggerated manner, greatly incited the people. A mob collected near Chowk Masjid Dalgaran and the police had to use tear gas to disperse them. The situation however, remained under control till the evening.

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After holding a public meeting a crowd of about 3,000 persons returned to Wazir Khan mosque. Shortly afterwards, some of the miscreants manhandled them. When this news reached the City Kotwali, the DSP City along with a posse of police rushed to the spot. Before, however, he could take any action, he was mobbed. A revolver was snatched and immediately afterwards he was shot dead within the mosque. Rifles of two other police men were similarly snatched and they were badly manhandled.

RESORT TO FIRING

Later, in the evening after dusk mobs started collecting in various parts of the city and marched towards various police stations. One of the police patrols intercepted an unruly mob outside Shati Gate and had to resort to firing. This resulted in one man killed and one injured.

Curfew has been clamped on the area bounded by the Circular Road, Chaterji Road, Ravi Road, Karachi Road, Church Road, McLeod Road, Hall Road, The Mall Road, Charing Cross Montgomery Road, Abbot Road, Empress Road, Lahore Railway Station and Circular Road upto the Chhota Ravi bridge between the hours of 8-30 p.m. and 6 a.m. for the first night and thereafter from 6 p.m. to 6 a.m. for a period of seven days. During the day all assemblies of persons numbering five or more were prohibited in the same area for two months.

WARNING

The District Magistrate, Lahore, has issued the following warning late on Wednesday night:-

"It has been brought to my notice that mischief mongers are busy spreading rumours to create panic among public. They are hereby warned that persons caught spreading rumours will be

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arrested and prosecuted".

SIALKOT: Six ring leaders of the agitators were arrested last night. In the morning the people started defying the order, promulgated under Section 144 and started collecting near the police station where the D.M., S.P. and other civil and military authorities were present. When their numbers swelled they adopted a threatening attitude and were ordered to disperse. They refused to obey the order and instead started stoning the police and military force. Fire was resorted to, which resulted in four reported dead and some other casualties.

The town was handed over to the military authorities and curfew clamped. Police and military reinforcements have reached Sialkot tonight.

LYALLPUR: The situation became very tense as large crowds numbering several thousands came out in defiance of the order under Section 144 Cr. P.C. and marched towards Deputy Commissioner's house. Later they went to the jail side. About 100 persons were arrested and the mob dispersed without any incident. Reinforcements have been despatched.

GUJRANWALA: A procession of about 300 persons was taken out and later dispersed without any incident. The agitation continues in other districts but is showing signs of abatement.

KARACHI: No arrests have been made in connection with anti-Ahmadi agitation since 12 noon to-day, says a Press note issued in Karachi yesterday.

A Press note issued earlier said: Fifteen persons had been arrested for anti-Ahmadi demonstrations up till Wednesday noon.

MULTAN: Anti-Ahmadi agitation continued here

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and demonstrators paraded through the main streets. The general situation in Multan is, however, quite peaceful and armed police is patrolling the city. An official spokesman declared today that "Lawlessness" would not be permitted in Multan.

RAWALPINDI: A hartal was observed here today as a protest against police firing in Sialkot and Gujranwala. Meetings were held last night which condemned the firing.-APP.

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APPENDIX NO. 41.

DAWN.

Dated the 5th March, 1953.

Lahore D.S.P Shot Dead:Curfew in City.

Sialkot Handed over to Army.

Lahore, March, 4 the situation in Lahore continued to be tense till late tonight. People shouted anti-Government and anti-Ahmadi slogans from the house tops after curfew had been clamped in the city. Small batches of people defied the curfew order and took out processions in the Delhi and Lohari Gates. Police had to resort to firing to disperse the defaulters. Certain casualties were reported but their number could not be ascertained.

An official source said that the post-curfew demonstrations were arranged by spreading a fake rumour that, certain police men had torn copies of the Holy Quran.

CURFEW

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however, remained under control till the evening.

After holding a public meeting a crowd of about 3000 persons returned to Wazir Khan mosque. Shortly afterwards, some of the miscreants manhandled them. When this news reached the City Kotwali, the DSP. City along with a posse of police rushed to the spot. Before, however, he could take any action, he was mobbed. A revolver was snatched and immediately afterwards he was shot dead within the mosque. Rifles of two other police men were similarly snatched and they were badly manhandled.

RESORT TO FIRING

Later, in the evening after dusk mobs started collecting in various parts of the city and marched toward various police stations. One of the police patrols intercepted an unruly mob outside Bhati Gate and had to resort to firing. This resulted in one man killed and one injured.

Curfew has been clamped on the area bounded by the Ravi Road, Circular Road, Chatterji Road, Karachi Road, Church Road, McLeod Road, Hall Road, The Mall Road, Charing Cross Montgomery Road, Abbot Road, Empress Road, Lahore Railway station and Circular Road upto the Choota Ravi bridge between the hours of 8-30 p.m. and 6 a.m. for the first night and thereafter from 6 p.m. to 6 a.m. for a period of seven days. During the day all assemblies of persons numbering five or more were prohibited in the same area for two months.

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The town was handed over to the military authorities and curfew clamped. Police and military reinforcements have reached Sialkot tonight.

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RAWALPINDI: A hartal was observed here today as a protest against police firing in Sialkot and Gujranwala. Meetings were held last night which condemned the firing.
APP.

APPENDIX NO. 42.

DAWN DATED 6-3-1953.

MORE FIRING IN LAHORE

QUIET DURING CURFEW HOURS

NO INCIDENTS IN DISTRICT TOWNS

LAHORE, March 5: A Press note issued here on the situation in Lahore says: In view of persistent efforts to violate the orders promulgated under Section 144 Cr.P.C. it has been decided to impose curfew, in Lahore with effect from 3-30 p.m. instead of 6 p.m. today (Thursday). In addition to the area announced yesterday, the curfew will be operative in Mozang and Purani Anarkali.

Persons holding curfew passes, or permits issued by the District Magistrate and the Additional District Magistrate, Lahore, and Government servants with identity cards can move about during curfew hours or presenting their passes, permits or cards.

Shortly after the curfew was lifted on Thursday morning, small groups of street urchins paraded the bazars shouting slogans against shopkeepers who would not close their shops. The hartal was followed by small processions which were joined by students of a local college who went to other colleges to dissuade the students from attending their classes. The police, however, abstained from taking any severe action against them. The crowds eventually melted away but rowdy elements started parading in processions in defiance of the orders promulgated under Section 144 Cr.P.C.

Soon afterwards reports were received that the vehicles of the Lahore omnibus were being set on fire by unruly mobs in different parts of the town, particular

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near the Mayo Hospital, Shahalmi and Lohari Gates. In all, 8 omnibuses were totally burnt by the mobs. One police truck in which three persons who were injured in Wednesday night's firing had been sent to the Mayo Hospital for medical examination, was also burnt.

Two post offices of Rangmahal and Hiramandi were arsoned by the mob but the timely arrival of the police averted similar mishap in Chunamandi. A school teacher of Baghbanpura was murdered. A private electric store situated in Rangmahal was looted. Similar attempts at looting were made at a number of places but the crowds dispersed on the sight of police parties.

At a number of places brickbats were thrown at the patrolling police posses resulting in smashing of front glasses and window panes of six vehicles. Two police constables who had gone to the Mayo, Hospital on duty were manhandled while the house of a relative of a police officer was also set on fire but was saved before much damage could be done.

As the mob became more and more unruly and violent police was constrained to open fire to disperse them on a number of occasions after tear gas and lathis did not produce the desired effect. The total number of casualties of Wednesday night and Thursday were 10 killed and 14 injured.

The imposition of curfew at 3-30 p.m. brought the situation under control. Some people, however, shouted slogans intermittently from house-tops in different localities, particularly in the vicinity of the Wazir Khan Mosque where the agitators are concentrating and mobs had to be dispersed by the use of tear gas outside Delhi Gate.

Bren-gun carriers and armoured cars are patrolling the city. The Mall, the main business and fashionable centre of Lahore, presents a deserted appearance in contrast with

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the day-long processions by anti-Ahmadi demonstrators during the last four days.

Before the curfew was imposed, the police fired thrice to disperse the demonstrators resulting in a number of casualties. The most serious incident was near the YMCA where at least four persons are reported to have been killed.

Another police firing outside the Mayo Hospital resulted in a bullet injury to Medical College student. Police fired in the air outside Lohari Gate to disperse another procession.

Business in the town is at a stand-still following hartal in sympathy with those killed in yesterday's firing.

Students of schools and colleges either abstained from classes or returned home early. Some of the Government offices were closed soon after lunch time.

The situation, though tense, was well in hand at night. No untoward incident has been reported from the districts where tension continues".

SIALKOT: "Dawn" Correspondent from Sialkot reports that the city was absolutely normal yesterday. The people, however, observed complete hartal. Troops are patrolling the city and are guarding all strategic points especially ammunition shops and petrol pumps.

GUJRANWALA & WAZIRABAD:

Reports from Gujranwala and Wazirabad also reveal that situation is under control and towns are fast returning to normal. The Punjab Government as a precautionary measure has deputed one Reserve Police contingent at Wazirabad to watch safety of Pakistan Express and Pakistan Mail up to Lahore.

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About 25 persons were arrested in the afternoon. The District Magistrate has imposed curfew from 10 p.m. to 5 a.m.

KARACHI: No arrests were made in connection with anti-Ahmadia agitation uptil 6 p.m. yesterday (Thursday).

WITH THE COMPLIMENTS OF THE DIRECTOR

PUBLIC RELATIONS, PUNJAB

No. 257

6-3-53

PRESS NOTE

The Chief Minister of the Punjab has announced on his own behalf and on that of his Cabinet that his Government is willing to open immediate negotiations with the Council of Action of the "Khatum-i-Nabuwat" movement and has appealed to the people to help it in maintaining the peace. He assures the public that the Army and Police will not adopt any aggressive measures, such as opening fire unless they have to take resort to such measures to protect public lives and property.

The Provincial Government is also negotiating with the Central Government. In his capacity as President of the Provincial Muslim League, Mian Muntaz Muhammed Khan Daultana is presenting the demands of the people of the Punjab to the President of the Pakistan Muslim League for his immediate attention because these are the unanimous demands of the nation.

A Minister of the Provincial Government is flying with the demands to Karachi with the support of the entire cabinet and it has been strongly recommended that Chaudhri Zafarullah Khan should be compelled to resign from the Ministry at once.

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APPENDIX NO.45

Copy of statement issued by Mian Muntaz Mohammad Khan Daultana. dated 10-3-1953.

On the 6th of this month, I appealed on behalf of my Ministry and on myself, to the people of the Province to help in the maintenance of law and order.

I assured them that my Government would be prepared to open immediate negotiations with the Leaders of the Tahaffuz-e-Khatim-i-Nubuwwat movement, and that my Ministers would place their demands before the Central Government with a recommendation that they should be accepted.

The appeal was made at a time when in Lahore lawless elements were indulging in loot, arson, and dislocation of essential services. The Tahaffuz-e-Khatim-i-Nubuwwat movement was being exploited by disruptive groups inimical to Pakistan in order to subvert authority to create dissensions among Muslims and promote disorder with a view to injuring the safety and stability of Pakistan.

The object of my appeal was to ensure that the people of this Province exert themselves in the maintenance of law and order so that the enemies of Pakistan are no longer able, under the cloak of a religious movement, to foment internecine dissensions and create lawlessness in order to damage the security of Pakistan. In actual fact unfortunately, lawlessness has continued in spite of my appeal, and in Lahore Martial Law had to be introduced in order to bring the situation under control.

Under the present circumstances, there can be no question of any negotiations with, or of consideration of

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the demands of the leaders of the Tahafuz-e-Khatm-i-Nabuwwat movement. It is the foremost duty of any Govt. to ensure that law is obeyed and the lives and property of its citizens are fully protected.

Both the Central and Provincial Governments are resolved to suppress lawlessness wherever it should occur and to maintain law and order in the province. The Government must suppress the present threat to the safety and integrity of the country by every means at their disposal.

I appeal to the people of this province to co-operate with the Government in restoring law and order wherever it should be threatened and in ensuring that the enemies of Pakistan are not able to exploit the Khatm-i-Nabuwwat question in order to injure the integrity or safety of country.

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APPENDIX NO.46

RESOLUTION PASSED BY THE WORKING
COMMITTEE PUNJAB MUSLIM LEAGUE IN
ITS MEETING HELD ON 11 MARCH 53.

This meeting of the Punjab Muslim League Working Committee fully endorses the statement issued by the President of the Punjab Provincial Muslim League and the Chief Minister of the Punjab to the Press on Tuesday March 10, 1953, and whole-heartedly supports the appeal that he has made to the patriotic people of the Punjab. It further directs every worker of the Muslim League in the Punjab to follow faithfully the directions contained in that statement.

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APPENDIX NO. 48.

DAWN

DATED 16-3-1953

PUNJAB RIOTS ANTI-AHMADIA CONSPIRACY

ENEMIES EXPLOITED CRISES

MOSQUES TURNED INTO CRIME CELLS

DAULTANA'S BROADCAST.

ALHORE, March 15: "The demonstrations of lawlessness which were witnessed in Lahore and some other towns of the Punjab during the past few days have added a dark and painful chapter to the history of this province. These have been regretted by every patriotic Punjabi and every sensible Pakistani", declared Mian Mumtaz Mohammad Khan Daultana, the Chief Minister of Punjab, addressing his fellow-countrymen last night over Radio Pakistan, Lahore.

He said: "I could not address you earlier because every one of us was busy extinguishing the smouldering fire of mischief and disorder during this period. Now that the situation is practically under control and normalcy is fast returning let us contemplate over the significance of these unfortunate incidents.

"You must have observed that under the pious cloak of the protection of "Namoos-e-Rasul" certain mischievous and anti-Pakistan elements indulged in such barbaric activities which tarnished the fair name of Islam and damaged the interests and prestige of Pakistan.

These elements did not desist even from using our pious mosques as cells for hatching an open conspiracy. Those people who were hitherto notorious as Pakistan's enemies misguided the credulous and peace-loving citizens of our country. They removed the railway tracks so that the movement of foodgrains might be stopped

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they attempted to cut off the telephone and telegraph wires; they arsoned post offices and set fire to public transport; and they forced Government servants, traders and labourers to strike work. Shops and houses were looted, womenfolk were insulted; certain citizens were stabbed and murdered. Thus every possible method was adopted to create harassment, disruption and lawlessness so that the economic and civic life of the province should come to a stand still.

"You must have also realised that these misdeeds were sponsored at a time when the country and particularly the Punjab was passing through an acute economic crisis. On the one hand, on account of natural causes and shortage of canal water, we are faced with the problem of food shortage; on the other an international crisis has caused trade depression. At such a critical time the attempt to create disruption in the Punjab was not a chance occurrence.

"It was positively a heinous conspiracy. Every independent nation unites when confronted with difficulties and breasts it with self-confidence. In such circumstances it is only the enemies of the country who try to create confusion and disruption.

GOD DISPOSES

"You and your Government were not unaware of the existence of these enemies who were opposed to Pakistan from the very outset and had been trying to obstruct its progress and prosperity. These poisonous germs exist in every free country. In furtherance of its glorious traditions, the Punjab always respected the democratic principles of civil liberty and freedom of expression, but these disruptive elements taking undue advantage of this concession had initiated mischief and

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lawlessness. We had the blessing of God Almighty and He enabled us to counter their intrigues successfully.

"There is one silver lining to this dark cloud and that is that the enemies of the country have been exposed and the nation has seen them in their true colours. They may wear any veil or pursue any policy in future: they will not be able to mislead the people.

"I sympathise with those credulous people who fell a prey to those intrigues of these traitors and temporarily forgot the interests and those of their nation and their country. What did they achieve after all? You must have seen also that Government tried its best to make these people realise their folly. I issued sincere and earnest appeals but it appears that these people had lost their sense at least temporarily. Government was, therefore, constrained to adopt other methods to restore law and order. If we had not done so, the consequences would have been disastrous indeed.

"The respect of Islamic principles is obligatory on every Muslim but whatever has been done in the name of Islam is poles apart from those pious principles. I am afraid, other nations will misunderstand the very concept of Islam if they judge us from these unhappy episodes. If that happens, our international position will be damaged irretrievably. It is a wrong approach that every one should take the law in his hands and indulge in hooliganism. This is not the way to solve any problem. It can only damage the prestige of the nation.

TIMELY INTERVENTION

"IN ADDITION TO THE TIMELY intervention of Government, another factor which helped extinguish this fire of lawlessness was the courage and co-operation of those patriots who preserved their balance of

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mind and not only abstained from indulging in this hooliganism but dissuaded others from doing so. It is on account of their co-operation that the situation has improved considerably everywhere.

Khwaja Nazimuddin's speech in the Constituent Assembly

"General Budget" (General discussion)

PAGE 373 (Half)

I felt I ought to give this House, and through this House, to the people at large, certain facts. This movement has been directed by a Committee of Action which is composed - rather, which was backed - by the Ahrari group of so-called Ulema and the fact that eminent ulema belonging to various ulema organisations dissociated themselves from this decision of direct action. The ulema who have dissociated themselves from direct action movement support the main demand for declaring the Ahmadiya community "a minority community", but in spite of that they do not support direct action. This is a very pertinent fact, which unfortunately, has not been given sufficient publicity and I am convinced that if it were known, some ulema and some imams of mosques who have taken part in this movement would not have done so. What I have stated here is what has appeared in one of the papers, that eminent ulema belonging to ulema organisations - a majority of them - refused to associate themselves with this movement, though they were members of Committee of Action, on the ground that they felt that it was not in the interest of Pakistan. It would injure the stability of Pakistan. It would injure the prestige of Pakistan and they felt that the methods employed and the policy which had been advocated was wrong from the Islamic point of view. Now, Sir, the people who carried the movement and who were in a majority were mostly the Ahrari group, whose political history is known to the House and to the People, but I would just like to remind the House and the people that it is this group and their representatives who na'oozo-billah declared Qaid-i-azam as Kafir-i-azam, who said that Pakistan was pleedistan and who opposed Pakistan and who, even after Pakistan, have got contacts on the other

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side. These people, who were thoroughly discredited and had no following, devised this method of coming back again into the political field and took up this issue and, Sir, all along I have tried my best to argue and to point out to these people that what they are proposing to do is not in the best interest of Pakistan, that it will injure the prestige of Pakistan that it will do irreparable harm to Pakistan and that it may even disrupt the stability of Pakistan, but because they were not guided by any irreligious ideas - but political rather than religious they were determined to start this Committee of Action, and they knew that before the new crop came in, before things improved, this was the occasion when they must start this movement. I do not know why representatives of Ulema of Pakistan sided with them. I will be the last person to impute any motives to any ulema until I have definite facts, but there is no doubt that as far as the Ahraris were concerned, it was a political move and there was more than political, it was power politics as well. Now as I said before, up to the last minute I tried my best to persuade them and dissuade them from their action and here I want to point out to the House and to the people that Government decided to act only after it was declared at the public meeting at Aram Bagh that the direct action was going to start from the next morning at 8-0 clock. I had to call an urgent meeting at one-o clock at night and there were representatives of the Provincial Governments there. The Punjab was represented by one of their Ministers. The I.G. of Police the Home Secretary, the Governor and Chief Minister of N.W.F.P. were present and the Governor of Sind was also present, I could not bring the Chief Minister of Bengal the Chief Minister of Bahawalpur and the Chief Minister of Khairpur, because I had to call these people at a very short notice. When I found that these people were determined to start direct action and only those who could be brought to Karachi by plane were brought

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here. At this meeting the representatives of the Provincial Government decided that there was no option but to fight the movement and to take every step to maintain the law and order. We were faced with the proposition that parliamentary system of Government or in an Islamic State no one has the right to try to overthrow a Government by force or take the reins of Government by force. The cardinal principle of a democratic system of Government is that Governments can be replaced only by the recognised parliamentary method and if as long as elections are held, as long as the public have an opportunity to send representatives according to their own choice, there can be no question of dictating to a Government by means of force. Demonstrations and direct actions are not in the scheme of a parliamentary system of Government. Parliamentary system of Government is based on the will of the people who support a particular Ministry and procedure has been laid down how that Ministry, if it loses the confidence of the people, can be changed.

Now, Sir, if once in a democratic system of Government, you are allowed to overthrow a Ministry by direct action, then it is an end to the parliamentary system of Government and you are asking for dictatorship and Fascism. Therefore, I maintain that this Government who believe in parliamentary system of Government, who believe in Islamic State, felt that the movement was both un-Islamic and undemocratic and had to be met. I know that today there are a large number of people - quite a number of people in Punjab - who are sour and bitter but a day will come when they will recognise that this Government has done the greatest service to Pakistan by standing up and meeting this menace to its stability and integrity. (Hear, hear). Sir, I know that there are people, some of them who have taken part in it, or have been led by motive, have been inspired by religious ideas, but I want to point out to them that the

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people who have been behind this movement, who have carried on the propaganda for a long time, have adopted unislamic methods and tactics. Islam does not permit deliberate falsehood and false propaganda. Apart from all the false propaganda against the Foreign Minister, these people have not hesitated to state that I have become a Qadiani; that my son has married a Qadiani girl and they knew these facts were not correct.

The Honourable Dr. N. M. Malik (Minister for Health, Works and Labour) Shame;

The Honourable Khwaja Nazimuddin; I ask; can any movement be an Islamic movement when Islam does not permit deliberate bohtan, deliberate falsehood? And look at the things that have been done during the course of this movement.

Arms and training given for the Civil Defence purposes were used against forces of Law and order; telephone wires were cut, road blocks uprooted, communications interfered with; post offices burnt, omnibusses destroyed; railway trains stopped; engines in the Loco Shed immobilised and railway tracks torn up.

Now, I would particularly draw the attention of the Members of the House to the category of actions, which I have just now stated. These are not the doings of Muslims who are inspired by religious ideas. It is not one political party, but there are other subversive elements in this country, who always take advantage of the situation like this and who have entered into this movement and who tried to create a state of chaos and if possible, to overthrow the Central Government. I would only draw your attention to the methods employed in the heinous offences of tearing up of railway tracks in a province where the food position was very serious, where every foodgrain was vitally needed to keep

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the food supplies going on. Deliberately to try and tear up the railway track and prevent the running of the trains means only one thing; that they were out for chaos; they were out to overthrow this Government.

Sir, I can assure the House that the action which the Central Government took in Karachi, or the Provincial Government had to take, was forced upon them. There was no option. The option was either submit to dictation or meet the menace. We only acted to prevent lawlessness; we only acted to prevent destruction of property, destruction of life; to prevent citizens from being molested and no more. And, as I said before we only acted after the challenge had been definitely thrown. In this connection, Sir, I would like to explain to the House the exact responsibility of the Central Government as far as law and order is concerned. Sir, I would like to clear the misconception regarding the Central Government's responsibility in the field of law and order. Under our constitution, law and order is the sole and exclusive responsibility of the Provincial Governments. The Central Government is ultimately responsible for this subject only in respect of Centrally administered areas. The civil authorities in the Provinces can requisition military assistance in aid of civil power to quell disturbances. The Military called out in disturbances are usually under the direction of the civil authorities though they must exercise their own judgment as to the force to be used. But where the situation has passed beyond the control of the civil authorities the military are then in charge and are entitled to give directions and impose restrictions on civilians in order to deal with the situation. The test is always whether interference with civil life is necessary in order to discharge the duty of restoring order when the civil authorities are unable to control the situation. The Military authorities

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take over in order to restore order and to repel force by force. They fill in the void created by the inability of the civil authorities to meet the situation. If the Military do not do so, the result would be; destruction of life and property and chaos resulting ultimately in the disintegration of the state itself. In brief, Martial Law is a state of affairs in which the military takes control of the situation. It is recognised, not created by a Proclamation.

Now, Sir, I do hope that people who have so far taken part in this movement by misguided impression that they are doing it as a religious duty will, I hope, refrain from it because this is purely a law and order question. It is purely a question where certain elements were out to exploit the religious sentiment of the people for their own ends and for political purposes. I pray and I do hope that the people will realise that the Government would have failed in their duty if they have not done what they have done in this matter. (cheers)

APPENDIX NO. 52

HOME SECRETARY NOTE

At today's meeting held in the Governor's House H.E. desired to have a brief note regarding the action that was taken against the Ahrar in July, 1952. The details of this action are given below:

The D.I.G./C.I.D. pointed out on May 20, 1952, the dangerous turn the Ahrar-Ahmadi controversy had taken and made certain specific proposals in consultation with H.S. and I.C. Police. These proposals were discussed by H.C.M. with C.S., H.S., I.G.P. and D.I.G./C.I.D. and it was decided to issue a directive to all D.Ms. banning public meetings of the Ahrar and Ahmadis. This order was issued on 5th June 1952, and required D.Ms. to take action u/s 144 Cr.P.C. As it was later felt that the Ahrar might take advantage of the immunity afforded by mosques and hold their meetings there, a signal was issued to all the D.Ms. on 19th June 1952, detailing the action that they should take in case the Ahrar had recourse to this strategem for evading the operation of their order. They were told that they should not disperse by force or otherwise interfere with any public meeting which was being held in a mosque or any other place of sanctity or worship, but they were required to register cases against the culprits and to take action against them after the excitement of the meeting was over. A further directive was issued on the 28th June 1952, explaining to the D.Ms. that the intention of Government was that the Ahrar Leaders should be isolated from the rest of the public and that Government did not desire the net to be thrown wider for drawing in people of other denominations also. Then a meeting of D.Ms. Jhelum, Gujrat, Lahore, Rawalpindi, Sargodha, Gujranwala, Lyallpur, Montgomery, and Sialkot was held at Lahore which was presided over by G.S. and was attended by

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I.G.P., D.I.G./C.I.D.R.S. and D.P.R. A copy of the minutes of that meeting is placed below:

The necessity for the issue of these elaborate directives was felt because the Ahrar had started the propaganda that restrictions had been imposed upon mosques and were also trying to enlist the sympathy of Ahrar for the demands sponsored by them.

Strong action was taken in Sargodha and Gujranwala. Cases were registered and arrests were made in other districts also. In Sargodha, Sheikh Hissam-ud-Din, Master Taj-ud-Din and some other Ahrar were actually convicted and sentenced to imprisonment.

On 19th July, a riotous mob actually came into conflict with the Police when they attempted to attack Kup Police Station, Multan City. After this incident H.C.M. convened a meeting which was attended by I.G.P., D.I.G./C.I.D., & H.S. (C.S. was on leave at that time). At this meeting H.C.M. said that the Ahrar leaders had given an assurance to him which was being released by them to the press and in which they had undertaken to refrain from lawlessness and acts of violence and had actually said that they would protect the life, property and honour of the Ahmedis. H.C.M. also said that in view of this assurance the orders u/s 144 Cr.P.C. and the cases registered for their violation should be withdrawn. Orders were issued accordingly.

The Ahrar had given their assurance to the H.C.M. through the Director of Public Relations. I have obtained a note from him on the subject which is also placed below.

Sd: S. Ghias-ud-Din Ahmad.
22-3-53.

H.E.
(By Spl. Messenger).

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Reference: H.S.'s. telephonic talk with me today.

Some time in July last H.C.M. told me on the telephone that a newspaper reporter has brought him a request from the Ahrar leaders for an interview, H.C.M. said that he would not like to act on what the newspaper reporter had told him about the Ahrar leaders' anxiety not to come into conflict with law. H.C.M. instructed me to ascertain from the Ahrar leaders what they wanted to tell him. I met the Ahrar leaders in their office and gave H.C.M. my report of what they had said, whereupon H.C.M. agreed to give them an interview. This took place a few days later in H.C.M.'s room in the Secretariat. It was decided there that the Ahrar leaders would issue a public statement giving an assurance that the Majlis-i-Ahrar would not resort to violence or lawlessness in pursuing their demands and that they would help Government in maintaining law and order. H.C.M. told them that if they issued a public statement to this effect, Government would consider sympathetically the question of lifting the restrictions on their meetings under Section 144 and releasing certain Ahrar leaders who were not accused of violence or preaching violence.

The Ahrar leaders issued their statement which appeared in all newspapers of Lahore on 20-7-1952. The relevant cutting from Afaq is placed below. Two days later H.C.M. issued a statement vide relevant cutting Zemindar, placed below.

Sd: N.M.Ahmad.
21-3-1953.

H.S.

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APPENDIA NO.54.

DAWN

DATED 25-3-1953.

DAULTANA CABINET RESIGNS.

LAHORE, March 24: The Punjab Chief Minister, Mian Mumtaz Mohammad Khan Daultana, tendered the resignation of his cabinet at 10-30 a.m. yesterday.

He has also, according to a "UPP" message resigned from the Presidentship of the Punjab Muslim League.

The Muslim League Assembly Party, which met at the Muslim League Assembly Chamber this morning, endorsed the decision of the Punjab Chief Minister to tender the resignation of his Cabinet and unanimously elected Malik Firoz Khan Noon, Governor of East Pakistan, as the Leader of the Punjab Muslim League Assembly Party.

At this meeting of the Punjab Muslim League Assembly Party at which the Chief Minister explained the background leading to his decision to resign. Malik Firoz Khan Noon's name was proposed by the outgoing leader, Mian Mumtaz Daultana.

In his letter of resignation to the Governor, Mian Mumtaz Daultana is believed to have tendered his advice to the Governor to call upon Malik Firoz Khan Noon; the newly elected Leader of the Punjab Muslim League Assembly Party, to advise him in the formation of a new Ministry.

Chaudhri Salahuddin, General Secretary of Pakistan Muslim League, commenting on the resignation of the Punjab Cabinet told the "APP" that it was a "unique demonstration of party discipline".

He spoke eloquently of the stand taken by the former Punjab Chief Minister, Mian Mumtaz Mohammad

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Khan Daultana, and said that the need of the hour was "closest co-operation" between the Provincial and Central League leadership.

He appealed to the people of the province to extend their "wholehearted" co-operation to what he called a new set-up on the Governmental and party levels.

Syed Khalilur Rahman, Pakistan Minister of State for Defence, said in an interview that the events of the last two days clearly bore out the inherent strength and solidarity of the Muslim League Party.

They also showed the high quality of league leadership which has in the case of the Punjab risen to the occasion.

Mian Mumtaz Daultana told the Muslim League Assembly Party here this morning that he was relinquishing the leadership of the Party on a "directive naymandate" from the Pakistan Muslim League Chief, Khwaja Nazim-ud-din.

Addressing the Party he said that there was no need for them to discuss the pros and cons of the directive. As an old Muslim Leaguer, he said, it would amount to "treachery on my part" if the directive was even questioned.

He said: "You might recall that I told you at the last Party meeting that as an old Muslim Leaguer I was bound by the Muslim League discipline and mandate. This was more imperative under the present circumstances when our country is faced with some peculiar problems. Any one who will try to evade it, will be a traitor to the country and the nation".

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Mian Mumtaz Daultana said that there must not only be "complete unity" between the Provincial and the Central leadership, but "mutual confidence" in each other.

He said: "There must be no room for any misunderstanding on this point. I had told you before and I repeat it today that if I was asked by the Central League leadership to resign, I would do so unhesitatingly as an old League worker. I had also reiterated the same thing while winding up a general discussion on the budget in the Punjab Assembly.

"Another thing which you might not be knowing is that after my Budget speech, I had conveyed the contents of it to the President of the Pakistan Muslim League. Although it was not necessary for me to do so, yet I did it with a view to apprise the Pakistan League Chief of my feelings.

MANDATE FROM CHIEF

"So far as my position as the Leader of the Party is concerned, I stick to my earlier declaration. You are aware that our Pakistan League President is here these days and I had held a talk with him. He had asked me rather given me a directive nay a mandate, that I should resign from the leadership of the Party in the interest of the Muslim League.

"There is no room for any discussion on the matter. When our leader who has been elected by us and to whom we are so much devoted has ordered us. I think it will amount to treachery on my part to bring it under discussion. As such it is my duty to tender my resignation from the leadership of the Party".

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Mian Muntaz Daultana said that political leaders come and go but political workers continue to stay in the Party. "I wish and pray that God may give me courage and strength to serve the Party as an humble worker till the end of my life".

"The best way of demonstrating friendship and sympathy with me would be to work whole-heartedly and earnestly to keep the Party intact and by remaining loyal to the party discipline like me. This way lies the strength of Pakistan and the Muslim League".

"I have been assigned another job. It is to announce that in the opinion of the Pakistan Muslim League Chief, the most suitable person for the future leadership of the Assembly Party is Malik Firoz Khan Noon. I formally propose his name and hope that you will maintain the strength of the Party".

UNFLINCHING LOYALTY

Speaking next, Pakistan's Minister of State for Defence, Syed Khalilur Rahman, said that it was his painful duty to be present on this occasion and see his esteemed colleague and leader quit his office as Leader of the Party.

The history of the Muslim League was replete with such instances, he added.

"I am proud to note to day that my leader and colleague had demonstrated the spirit of unflinching loyalty to his leader and upheld the high traditions in this Province", -

Thanking the audience, he prayed that "God may give them strength to maintain their integrity and independence".

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APPENDIX NO.55.

Summary of the proceedings of the Conference between the Ministers of the Central Government and Provincial representatives held on 26th February and the night between 26th and 27th February 1953, prepared verified and signed by Ch. Muhammad Hussain, Ex-Revenue Minister, Punjab Government.

Mian Mumtaz Muhammad Khan Daultana, the then Chief Minister of the Punjab, was asked to attend an urgent meeting at Karachi on the 26th February 1953, in connection with the Anti-Ahmadi movement. Being unwell, he directed me to represent the Punjab Government at the said conference.

I left for Karachi accompanied by Mian Anwar Ali, Inspector-General of Police Punjab, and Syed Ghais-ud-Din Ahmad, Home Secretary to Government Punjab, in the same plane which carried His Excellency Khwaja Shahab-ud-Din and Honourable Khan Abdul Qayyum Khan. Immediately on our arrival at Karachi, we went to the residence of the Honourable Prime Minister of Pakistan, Khwaja Nazim-ud-Din. The Honourable Prime Minister was busy in a Cabinet meeting and we were kept waiting in his drawing room. Later on H.E. Mr. Amin-ud-Din and a few other officers joined us. After the dispersal of the Cabinet meeting, we had tea and our formal conference began after that.

The discussion was opened by the Honourable Prime Minister and he gave a detailed account of his negotiations with the leaders of the Committee of Action and told us how he had been able to manage the situation so far and how he had kept the Ulema under control through his personal influence. During his speech

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he opined that he was even at that stage of the view that it was advisable to send for the leaders of the Committee of Action and negotiate with them, but the Honourable Abdul Qayyum Khan objected and said that it was of absolutely no use now to pursue any further the negotiations with the Ulema, which had already yielded no results. Then the Honourable Prime Minister came out with his formula of the 'Ijmaa-i-Ummat, i.e. that this issue should be referred to the Muslim divines of the whole Islamic world to obtain an authoritative pronouncement upon it. Here the Hon'ble Khan Abdul Qayyum Khan remarked that such a course of action would be tantamount to the surrendering of sovereignty of Pakistan. He also said that if these Ulema agreed with the Ulema of the Committee of Action we would have to abide by their decision. Khwaja Nazim-ud-Din agreed that the demands could not be conceded because of national and international expediencies, whatever views they held on the merits or demerits of the demands. The suggestion was then dropped.

I placed the views of the Punjab Government before the Conference without going into any detailed discussion. I made the following points:

- (1) As the Hon'ble Prime Minister had made it clear that the demands could not be conceded because of the international situation, therefore, there was no alternative and we could not yield to the movement.
- (2) That the Punjab Government had referred this issue to the Central Muslim League organisation and the Central Government frequently, for the enunciation of the clear-cut policy regarding these demands, for according to

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them it was necessary to have a final and precise lead from the Centre regarding these demands and the movement, as it was an all-Pakistan question and could not be decided by the Punjab or any other province for that matter.

- (3) That the Punjab Government would certainly abide by the decision of the Central Government, and that the Punjab Government had as a matter of fact been hitherto handicapped for lack of policy in this behalf.
- (4) That the Punjab Government would welcome the decisions of the Central Government and would spare no effort in the implementation of these decisions and instructions.
- (5) That the Punjab Government had no hesitation in bringing home to them that the movement in the province would assume gigantic magnitude and that it might be necessary to resort to shooting and firing which could only be done if the Central Government backed up the Punjab Government with full force and confidence. S.Ghias-uddin Ahmad, Home Secretary to Government, Punjab, and Mian Anwar Ali, Inspector-General of Police, Punjab were also summoned to the Conference, who gave details of the whole situation and corroborated me on all points.

I was followed by the Honourable Khan Abdul Qayyum Khan, who said that he agreed with the point of view of the Punjab and that he was in favour of taking very strong action to curb the movement. He remarked that as a matter of fact, the time had come when Peerism, Mullaism and ecclesiasticism should be crushed for all

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time to come. Here the Honourable Prime Minister inter-
jected and said that one of the factors for not taking action
against this movement so far was the advice of the
Honourable Khan Abdul Qayum Khan three months ago. Was he
not the person, who, three months ago, advised him not
to take any action against the movement because it
would assume enormous proportions and that it would be
difficult to handle the situation by sheer force and
that negotiations with the Ulama would be fruitful in
coming to a settlement, and therefore it was best to
handle the situation on a personal and political level.
The Honourable Khan Abdul Qayum Khan admitted that that
was the view three months ago and that he did advise on
these lines but now after having studied the situation
further, he had changed his views. He also said that
it was not only his advice, but it was also the view
of His Excellency Khwaja Shahab-ud-Din. He was
followed by H.E. Khwaja Shahab-ud-Din who dwelt at
length even on the doctrinal aspect of the issue
involved and was of the definite view that the
Government as such had no right to declare any person
or sect as 'Kafir' and that Islam being a developing
religion enjoined taking action according to the
exigencies of the time. He said that the Government
had been challenged and if it did not meet the
situation with a firm hand, it would mean that the
Government had given way to the Mullahs on an issue
which was definitely wrong according to him. Here
the Prime Minister intervened and said that there were
persons in this meeting who were for crushing mullaism
and Peerism, and, as a matter of fact, Islam itself
and that he in all conscience could not be a party to
this and that he would resign. The Hon'ble Khan Abdul
Qayyum Khan retorted that his resignation would not
solve the problem and that he should not think along

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these lines. But the Prime Minister repeated his views twice or thrice.

Some members were of the view that no strong action based on force should be taken. They thought that in a democratic country, the Government should handle the situation democratically and that the final verdict should rest with the people. In their opinion any strong action at that stage would precipitate matters to an extent which might not be possible to bring under control and that the Government might lose all favour with or support of the people on an issue which was definitely a religious one.

During the discussion, as far as I can recollect a messenger came to Khwaja Nazim-ud-Din with a chit twice or thrice and Khwaja Nazim-ud-Din explained that he had specially arranged to obtain constant information about the meeting of the Ulema which was going on at that time and that he was very well acquainted with the latest developments of that meeting. Without coming to a decision Khwaja Nazim-ud-Din decided that we should meet again at 8-0 a.m. on the following morning and further discuss the situation, by which time he would have the full information regarding the deliberations of the Ulema who had assembled at Karachi in connection with Direct Action.

At about 1-15 a.m. I was informed in my room at the Metropole Hotel by one of the people on duty in the Hotel at that time, that the prime Minister's car had arrived to take me to his residence. I was awake and left immediately for Prime Minister's House. Only two or three other gentlemen had arrived before me and Khwaja Sahib was strolling up and down in his drawing room with a paper in his hand. He asked us

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to make ourselves comfortable and to wait until all other members of the Cabinet and relevant officials arrived so that we might begin our discussion again. On their arrival, within about less than half an hour, we began our deliberations. Khwaja Nazim-ud-Din opened the discussion by placing that paper on the table. He said that now there was no alternative left because he had received an ultimatum from the Committee of Action to the effect that they would picket his house at 7-0 a.m. in the morning unless their demands were accepted in toto before that time and they were informed accordingly, and that this was their irrevocable decision. Therefore there was no longer any choice left to the Government. Khan Abdul Qayyum Khan and His Excellency Khwaja Shahab-ud-Din were jubilant that the Prime Minister had been forced to come round to their point of view. I again raised the issue that a definite clarification of the Central Government policy in respect of the demands and agitation should be made, because the question of law and order had arisen on account of these demands. Khwaja Nazim-ud-Din gave an emphatic 'No' to this and said that he would deal with this on the purely law and order level and that he was not prepared to refer to the demands at all. He said that frankly speaking he would not have taken any action even at this stage, if all the Ulema were united on these demands or if he thought that there would be serious repercussions in East Bengal. East Bengal being Mulla-ridden he had always had the gravest apprehension that if this movement flared up there, then the Muslim League would lose the elections and therefore he was not in favour of taking any action if that had been the position. His information now was that the Ulema were not united on these demands as the Sheeas, the Ahl-i-Hadith and the Bareilvis according

to his information did not see eye to eye with the advocates of the demands and that he had also discussed the whole situation in East Bengal with His Excellency Khwaja Shahab-ud-Din. They were of the opinion that it would not arouse any strong feelings in Bengal and that is why he was inclined to take action now. Further more he was left with no alternative but to accept the challenge thrown out to Government.

✓ The Honourable Khan Abdul Qayyum Khan also supported me that a clarification of the Government policy with respect to the demands must be made, but the Prime Minister was adamant and did not accept our point of view. At this stage, Mr. Aziz Ahmad, the Cabinet Secretary, Government of Pakistan, boldly intervened and said (after offering his apologies) that a clarification regarding the demands was essential for the impression was gaining ground in the public that the Central Government was encouraging the Ulema. In this context it was therefore essential that an authoritative pronouncement by the Central Govt. should be made so that this impression might be removed from the minds of the people at large. He had actually prepared a draft statement, which he read out for the approval of the Conference, but the Prime Minister strongly disapproved of that draft statement, because he was in no mood to accept any such suggestion. He asked the Cabinet Secretary to draft another statement which should only bring out his point of view and that was that the Government was forced to take this strong action because the situation of law and order had deteriorated. Then it was decided that the members of the Committee of Action should be arrested before day-break. Mr. Kazim Raza was directed to do so. The Provincial Governments were directed to take action in their own

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provinces. It was also decided that the Provincial Governments should be informed immediately and that the directions of the Central Government should be sent to them at once. The meeting ended at about 4-0 a.m. or a little later than that. When we came out of the room, Mr. Aziz Ahmad told me and the Hon'ble Khan Abdul Qayyum Khan that we should not worry and that he would be able to persuade the Prime Minister to issue a statement on the lines of his draft which had been disapproved by Kh. Nazim-ud-Din within two or three days, because he was certain that the situation would definitely develop in the mean time in such a manner as would force him to accept this point of view.

We left by the same plane and as the Frontier representatives and H.E. Khwaja Shahab-ud-Din insisted that they would like to reach Peshawar immediately, we had to accompany them to Peshawar and then came to Lahore. On our arrival we reported the whole proceedings and the position to the Honourable Mian Mumtaz Muhammad Daultana, the then Chief Minister of the Punjab and his Cabinet.

Sd: Chatha.
